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IS MARRIAGE A FAILURE?

By LEE SELMAN, Chicago, Ill.

This January Prize Essay won $10. Glance to the right and see what you can do.

TO marry or not to marry? That is the question. Whether it is better to be held in durance vile by the wiles of one woman or to revert to the type of the philanderer; whether it is more honorable to proclaim the sufficiency of one woman or to leave the question of one's marital constancy a dubiety. In America, marriage means monogamy, and monogamy and prostitution are correlatives. For women must live, and when a woman is unable to monopolize a man within the law, she makes an attempt without the law.

In a broader sense, marriage is external evidence of an already consummated truth. It is that magnificent gesture to the constituted authority which, by legislation, attempts to regulate the passions of man and thus diminish poverty. A marriage license, though, is only a tag of identification showing that on and after this date, Miss X is the private property of Mr. B. Thus deprived of its spirituality it is revealed in its stark beastiality. For marriage, after all, is only the spiritual union of two kindred souls.

There is something radically wrong in the requirement of society that all normal men should marry. There are souls who live so far removed from the sordidness of this life that marriage is out of the question. For men of the Hayes-Woodson type marriage is not only impractical, it is absurd. Is there any essential difference between a Whitman and a Browning or a Baudelaire and a Wordsworth? Could Maeterlinck have ascended the heights he did without the inspiration of Georgette Le Blanc? Was not the crooning of Duse as musical to d'Annunzio as were those of the Muses? Yet, misogamists should speak only in sibilant accents, and misogynists (Oh, horrors!) should not speak at all. They know, though, that love is a draught from the fountain of immorality and not a drink from the gutter of beastiality.

Unfortunately, love, as interpreted today, is a teleological expression that may mean anything, but usually means nothing. Marriages are effected on an economic basis. Abolish legal marriage, though, and the Negro woman is placed at the mercy of the amorous Caucasian. Dispense with such ceremony and a man's home is no longer his castle. Marriage is a necessity because of the primitiveness of this civilization. Marriage is not a failure, it is a disappointment.

We would like to know what our readers think of these essays. Send in your criticism to The Forum but do not exceed 200 words.

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Is Christianity a Menace to the Negro?

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There are Negroes who say that Christianity is a white man's religion; that it teaches the philosophy of slavery, meekness and submission; that it makes the Negro believe in a white God, a white Jesus, white angels and cherubs; that it needlessly consumes the Negro's time, money and energy.

There are other Negroes who say that Christianity has been a blessing to the Negro; that it proved a rock to the blacks during the time of great trial; that it has been a comfort in the hour of need and distress; that its teachings have prevented the Negro from taking steps that might have caused his annihilation; that the Christian church was the Negroes' first means of getting together and building race solidarity.

There are still others who take the ground that Christianity is all right—since, they maintain, the people *will* have *some* religion—but that the Negro church is just archaic in form, structure and policy; that the Negro church can not inspire and hold the Negro of intelligence and education.

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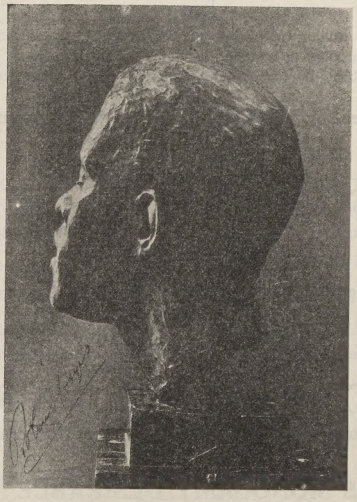

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SURVEY OF NEGRO LITERATURE, 1760-1926

By THOMAS L. G. OXLEY

Mr. Oxley Is the Well-known Negro Poet Residing in Boston, Mass.

THIS article is not intended to be a comprehensive survey of Negro literature, for it is only a prolegomena to that increasing storehouse of literature produced by colored writers. Negro literature has attained such a remarkable standard of excellence that it would be difficult to analyze all the works written by colored men and women. The growth of Negro literature is unparalleled in all history. And this is one of the many significant proofs that the Negro advances socially, educationally and otherwise; and it is more striking when one note although handicapped in nearly every way imaginable, he still clings to the proverbial motto: "Forward and up!"

The history of Negro literature must claim our full attention in a special degree. It is intensely national as well as American. In fact, it is more American than anything else. In producing such remarkable literary works the black man enriches and beautifies American literature; he even adds culture, giving to it a sort of a veneered finish. The high humanity of its content, its naturalness and sincerity are the characteristic manner of Negro literature. The writings of the black race is one of the most interesting to-day. It is not only rich in distinguished writers but these writers have a marked Negro individuality, and for these reasons we are surely justified in claiming a national literature for the race over which nations have ridden rough-shodden. Hardly any literature equals the Negro in producing the spiritual struggles of men, of a race oppressed for centuries. . . . The literature of the Negro is saturated with new color; it expands, it breathes, it arrests; it becomes infinitely more plentiful in motives, observations, ideas. It is the soul of black folk that understands the finite as well as the infinite phases of life.

Negro poetry begins where almost all poetry begins—in the rude ceremonial of a primitive people placating an unknown and dreaded world. The poetry of the first American Negro poet was first expressed in the dialect language several hundred years ago. In this language he voiced the sentiments of his heart and soul in wonderful, poignant expressions. Who have not enjoyed reading the dialect verses of the slaves? Who have not found some beauty in the dulcifluous spirituals of the slaves, passion-souled slaves? Beauty is the word for spiritual. At times the Negro sings with a broken heart; at another instant he tunes his lyre and forgets the world and its cares.

Truly, no branch of Negro literature can boast of the same degree of originality, naturalness and philosophical axioms as its dialect poetry. It may be said that the birth of American Negro poetry was first voiced in the spirituals. Although religion found a ready and eloquent expression in some of the spirituals, denunciation of social abuses were quite as numerous, whilst they were frequently more remarkable from a literary point of view. To know the Negro then, we must know his literature. The spirituals of the Negro, plenty of which is still preserved in the people, are wonderfully rich and full of the deepest interest. No nation possesses such an astonishing wealth of traditions, tales, and lyric folk-songs—some of them of the greatest spiritual beauty—and such a rich cycle of archaic epic songs as the Negro does. . . .

After the Civil War Negro literature acquired an idiosyncrasy of its own. The disappearance of the hypothetical primitive dialect productions of the slaves may have deprived us of some curious specimens of early art. But what has come down to us are examples of the Negro's creative ability as a poet. One need only to examine their spirituals or folk-lore. The folk-lore of the American Negro is rich in all qualities, giving to life itself a new aspect. And it is the only folk-lore of America.

The first poet of the American Negro, who was he? Jupiter Hammon was the first American Negro to publish a book of poetry. His poems are all religious; they are crude and methodless. His first poem: *An Evening Thought* bears the date of 1760. Hammon was a slave belonging to Mr. Lloyd of Queen's Village, Long Island. In 1778 he wrote *An Address to Miss Phillis Wheatley, Ethiopian Poetess,* and in 1782, *A Winter Piece: Being A Serious Exhortation, With A Call to the Unconverted.* With *An Evening Thought* entered the American Negro into American literature. The birth and death of Hammon are unknown.

Nine years after the publication of Hammon's first poems came Phillis Wheatley, the little slave girl who was brought to America a slave among slaves. She was born in Africa about 1753 and was brought to America in 1761, between seven and eight years of age. She was purchased by John Wheatley a well-to-do tailor in Boston. She was taught to read and write by her mistress and Mary Wheatley and was treated like a member of the family. In 1773 she accompanied John Wheatley to London. While in London she was cordially entertained by the Countess of Huntingdon and was presented with a volume of Milton's poems by the Lord Mayor of London. In the midst of her popularity she was suddenly recalled from England by the illness of her benefactoress. In 1773 there appeared in London the first and best edition of her poems: *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects: Religious and Moral, By Phillis Wheatley of Boston, In New England.* In 1775 she addressed a poem *To His Excellency, General Washington,* then stationed at Cambridge. Reverend J. Lathrop said in a letter dated Boston, August 14, 1775: "Yes, Sir, the famous Negro Phillis, is a servant of Mrs. Lathrop's mother. She is indeed a singular genius. Mrs. Lathrop taught her to read, and by seeing others use the pen, she learned to write; she early discovered a turn for poetry, and being indulged to read and furnish her mind, she does now, and will, if she still lives, make a considerable figure in the poetical way. She is now in London with Lady Huntingdon, and . . . I hope her going to England may do her no hurt."

Phillis Wheatley was a singular genius indeed; she was a girl genius and she never sounds a native note. She kept close to the white man's ideas. She wrote the white man's poetry—the poetry of Gray and Pope. She wrote nothing of her picturesque Africa, nor sounded a note against the vile institution of servile oppression under which her people groaned. Her heart gave her lips no lyric music, nor sonnets to laud the Nubian skin of her people. After the death of her mistress the home was broken up, and Phillis soon accepted an offer of marriage from a young Negro called Doctor Peters and who was sometimes a lawyer. Her three children died at an early age. She died on the 5th of Decemtber, 1784. . . . Phillis Wheatley was highly religious and sincere. She deserves a far more greater respect than America has accorded her. She was the first American Negro woman to show any remarkable literary perfection.

George Moses Horton ranks third in giving his name to American Negro literature. In 1829, George Moses Horton of North Carolina published a book entitled: *Poems By A Slave,* and in 1845 appeared *Poetical Works.* Horton taught himself to read and write; there is a current story that the poet was in the habit of picking up pieces of paper hoping to find verses written on them. His first book of poems was published before he was able to write. His friends hoped that enough copies could be sold to secure the freedom of the poet, but the publisher's note to a second edition, in 1837, states that the money obtained from the first impression were insufficient to obtain his manumission papers.

Mrs. Francis Ellen Watkins Harper wrote in the same period as Horton. Mrs. Harper was born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1825. She was educated by her uncle, the Reverend William Watkins, who taught a school for free colored children in Baltimore. In 1851 she removed to Little York, Pennsylvania and in 1854 she began her career as a public lecturer against the institution of slavery. In 1860 she was married to Fenton Harper of Cincinnati. *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects appeared* in 1854 prefaced by William Lloyd Garrison. More than 10,000 copies of her books were sold. Mrs. Hemans, Longfellow, and Whittier were her models. Mrs. Harper's poetry is beauty; it is also authentic drama, true, poignant, striking into the depths of humanity. She wrote life, not about life. Her grace is elegant; her style far from being burdensome. Throughout her work one finds scintillal gems which adds beauty to her subject. Her verse is smooth and sonorous, often a little too smooth and sonorous. She shows at times a pathos that grips the heart because she was herself deeply moved. For novel *Iola Leroy,* or *Shadows Uplifted* is remarkable for its conciseness and truth. She was a splendid forger of aphorisms. Mrs. Harper died February 22, 1911.

Two great figures stand apart, singularly alike in many ways—James Madison Bell and Alberry A. Whitman. Bell was an anti-

slavery orator and a friend of the immortal John Brown of Harper's Ferry fame. Bell was born at Gallipolis, Ohio, in 1826. In 1842 his family removed to Cincinnati where he learned the plasterer's trade. He pursued his trade by day and studied at night, and attended school for a short time; 1854 found him in Canada where he was busily engaged in the activities of the Underground Railroad. In 1860 he returned to the United States, and in the middle of the same year removed to California. Five years later he removed to Toledo, Ohio.

Bell was a powerful and ferverent writer. Self-educated he gained an access to the wisdom of books. He uttered and the air became songful with wisdom; he wrote and his words congeal into exemplars of classicism. Of the Emersonian philosophy he surely was! His poems are terse and are elicitated with sporadical aphorisms. His phrasing is exuberant; there is often a metallic quality bordering on brassiness. There is a willful flambuoyancy in his impetuous periods. Bell wrote in standard English and Byron was his model.

Alberry A. Whitman, Bell's contemporary, was born in Kentucky shortly after the Civil War. He was a slave. He graduated from Wilberforce University and later became its financial agent. He began life as a Methodist minister. In 1877 a collection of his poems entitled *Not A Man and Yet A Man* appeared. In 1884 he published his longest and most ambitious poem: *Twasinta's Seminoles,* or *The Rape of Florida.* Whitman, like Bell, wrote in standard English. His poems are long and has romantic charms; a wealth of beauty and imaginery exists throughout his poems. They are of tragic tales of love and romance. The beauty of the south adds charms to their exquisite naturalness. The consciousness of his power is in every line, the characters though they are so life-like and spontaneous in their action, fall into line and group themselves like puppets at the waving of the magician's hand. In 1901 Whitman published *An Idyl of the South.* He died several years ago.

It is necessary to mention the names of a few outstanding Negro writers who published books during this period. Charles L. Reason *Freedom* (1847), a poem of 168 lines possesses both imagination and dignity. Its central idea is based upon historic struggles of various peoples and concludes with a prayer for freedom in America. Even at this time Negro literature was in its adolescent stage; it had not yet attained its nebulous maturity. Ten years previous the progress made in literature by the American colored writer was microscopical. In 1859 Northrup published *Twenty Years A Slave.* This is a very iteresting autobiography recording the sufferings of the author and his people and his final triumphs in life. There is no literary value to his work; the only significant thing about it is its truthfulness and brevity of style. William Wells Brown published some years after *Rising Son and Black Man,* a book remarkable for its style, history and comprehensiveness. He pictures the ancient glory of the black man and paints in bright colors the coruscation of the Negro's tomorrow. There is nothing esoterically evasive about his style. Bishop Payne published *Recollections of Seventy Years,* a work covering his activities in the ministerial field. His style is not trite, not commonplace. *Men of Mark,* a compendium compiled by Reverend William J. Simmons is a most factual encyclopedia recording the achievements of black men in American life. George Williams published a *History of the Negro Race In America.* Williams was a prolific writer; he knew his subject well. Like Wells Brown, he endeavored to record the Negro in American history. Thomas T. Fortune published *Black and White,* a book of a little over 200 pages. It deplores the situation between the two races south and citations of statistical reports are numerous. He also published a volume of his poems. Other representative works are: *Morning Glories* by Mrs. Josephine Heard; *Negro Melodies* by Rev. Marshall Taylor; and *The Work of the Afro-American Woman* by Mrs. Gertrude N. Mossell.

At the close of the nineteenth century dozens of Negro writers published small fugitive volumes of prose and poetry. This may be called the second renaissance of Negro literature. The significance of these works can not be overestimated. It was the period when the Negro entered more seriously into the world of self-criticism and self-consciousness. It is not the sensitivity of the writer that makes him an artist, but this added to his transmutation of it into a form that acquires esthetic significance. The writings of several of these authors were unpolished and crude; they were devoid of form and system. And we could not expect that Negroes recently emancipated from centuries of the most dehumanizing slavery should be capable of producing great literature. . . . Even at this period the writings of the white man were in some instances imperfect and methodless. But these unfinished, unveneered products of the colored writers eventually formed the nucleus of the Negroes literature.

With the dawn of a new century, the Negro writer was to create for himself a higher and nobler place on the pedestal of fame. He was to become a great factor in the empire of American literature. He advances steadily, oftentimes without recognition but with ambition and hope. In this era Paul Laurence Dunbar appeared like a bright star from out of the West. Paul Laurence Dunbar was born in Dayton, Ohio, June 27, 1872. His father escaped from slavery, made his home for sometime in Canada, and returned to the United States to bear arms in a Massachusetts regiment in the Civil War. Dunbar was schooled at Dayton and graduated from the Dayton High School in 1891. After graduation he secured a position as elevator operator. He was brought before the attention of the public in 1892, when he delivered in verse the address of welcome at the Dayton meeting of the "Western Association of Writers." In the same year he published his first book of poems entitled: *Oak and Ivy.* William Dean Howells in his Introduction to *Majors and Minors* (1896) hailed him as "the first instance of an American Negro who had innate distinction in literature" and "the only man of pure African blood and of American civilization to feel the Negro life aesthetically and express it lyrically." In 1897 Dunbar went to England and upon his return to America published, *Lyrics of Lowly Life.* Some of his other works are: *The Uncalled; The Love of Landry; Lyrics of the Hearthside; Lyrics of Love and Laughter; Lyrics of Sunshine and Shadow;* and numerous other short stories and poems. In 1916 Dodd, Mead and Company published *The Complete Poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar.* Dunbar died in Dayton, Ohio, February 9, 1906.

Paul Laurence Dunbar stands out as the foremost Negro interpretor of Negro life. The real Dunbar, the merry or sad, is to be found only in his poems, and by them alone can we judge justly of his greatness as a poet. He may be rightly called the father of American Negro poetry. In truth, Dunbar is a reality as Burns and Riley are realities. Of verse he was the absolute sovereign, the indefatigable forger of rhythms, the magical equilibrist, the constantly fortunate manipulator of rhyme. He gave wings to qualities, a human heart to the inanimate, and expressed no idea without metaphor. . . . All tones are his, especially a tone of inexorable majesty and solemnity. Paul Laurence Dunbar created the modern poetic language; he freed it from dead hyperbolisms and false solemnity; he brought it closer to the living language of the people, and gave it sincerity, dignity, flexibility and vigor. . . . Who shall express thy charms oh! Dunbar?

Negro literature lost in Paul Laurence Dunbar a writer disconcertingly original, of exuberant and apparently universal talent, whose influence upon his contemporaries and successors, has altogether been fruitful, and has at all events been penetrating.

The name of Booker Taliaferro Washington is universally known. Booker Taliaferro Washington was born on a plantation near Hale's Ford, Franklin county, Virginia, in 159. In 1872, "by walking, begging rides both in wagons and in the cars" he traveled 500 miles to the Hampton (Virginia) Normal and Agricultural Institute, where he remained three years, working as janitor for his board and education, and graduated in 1875. He was the founder of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute . . . Harvard conferred upon him the honorary degree of A.M. in 1896 and Dartmouth that of L.L.D. in 1901.

Among his publications are a remarkable autobiography entitled *Up From Slavery.* Other notable productions are *The Future of the American Negro* (1889); *Sowing and Reaping* (1900); *Character Building* (1902); *Working With the Hands* (1904); *Tuskegee and Its People* (1905); *Putting the Most Into Life* (1906); *Life of Frederick Douglas* (1907); *The Negro in Business* (1907); and *The Story of the Negro* (1909).

Up From Slavery is a wonderful piece of work. It is one of the enigmas in Negro literature. Washington's style is simple and comprehensive and pleasing. He was a hard, conscientious worker, a finished craftsman who turned out a great volume of copy. *Up From Slavery* is an intelligible and convincing autobiography and one that is destined to live in history and furnish an inspiration for present and future generation. It takes no sides, it does not argue, it is cheerful and is best noted for its syntomy of style, which may be called a luminous serenity. It is the soul of a man yearning for intellectual freedom; it is a human document.

William E. Burghardt DuBois was born at Great Barrington, Massachusetts, 1868.

He received his education at Fisk University, Harvard University and the University of Berlin. He is the author of *The Souls of Black Folk; Dark Water,* and numerous other books. He is Editor of *The Crisis.* Dr. DuBois is too poetic to be logical. As a sociologist he is pre-eminent. But his mind is too poetical to make him a profound and logical philosopher. He writes with a style intensely original and beautiful. What a wonderful writer he is! And of such an interesting personality! Dr. DuBois is sometimes too personal, sometimes of the esoterical type. But after all these are no faults at all. Well, what of it? A man's defects are organically related to his virtues; take out the one and lo, you often discover that you have extricated the other. But what are such objections as these when weighed against the singing beauty that DuBois has woven into his exquisite books? His works are admirable for their charms; he is a stylist of rare ability; he possesses a brilliant wit and is a fertile coiner of sparkling epigrams. DuBois understands the passions of the Negro. He feels their heart beats. His pleasure in these souls, black souls, is his pleasure in life—a paradoxical, ironical, mystical intoxication.

Dr. Kelly Miller is a professor of sociology in Howard University. He is the author of several prose works. Dr. Miller is probably one of the soundest analytical thinker and philosopher of the Negro race. There is something of the poet too in him. His lines have a beauty that derives from something more animate than a lexicographer's lair. He is the author of *Out of the House of Bondage,* and several other books of merit.

James Weldon Johnson was born at Jacksonville, Florida, 1871. He was schooled at Atlanta University and at Columbia University. He was for seven years U. S. Consul in Venezuela and Nicaragua. Authorship: *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man,* and *Fifty-Years and Other Poems.* He is the secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mr. Johnson is not a poet of the inner soul; he is a poet of the intellect, but he has produced some excellent compositions. His best poem *Fifty Years* has grace and freshness and a distinguished simplicity lend to this apparently spontaneous composition greater vitality than is to be found in any of his other poems.

George Reginald Margetson was born in St. Kitts, British West Indies, in 1877. He was educated at the Moravian school in St. Kitts. In 1897 he came to America. He is the author of *Songs of Life; The Fledgling Bard and the Poetry Society;* and *England in the West Indies.* Mr. Margetson is the only poet of color to develop perfectly the sonnet form. They are of beauty and sing always abundantly for the ear. His poetry is of velvet and the dusk; of bronze and granits, flashing light. Among the writers of this generation who have enriched or at least variegated the garden of Negro poetry with exotics, Margetson has cultivated some rare plants of poetry. It is to be deplored that his works are not more familiarly known to the general public. He has woven a magic web of mists and shadows until each of his poem becomes "an idyll made of shadows there afar in distant forests." They may be likened to a grey shadowland, a mountain mist, often lifting to reveal fair regions of noble verse, or crystallizing into exquisite single lines, now limpsidly clear as running water, now gleaming as a sunglint through the mist. His ferventness is puerile. . . .

Claude McKay is pre-eminently the poet of Negro soul. Mr. McKay was born in Jamaica, B. W. I., in 1889. He received his early education from his brother, and

served for some time as a member of the Kingston Constabulary force. In 1912 he came to America and was a student of agriculture at the Kansas State College. Authorship: *Songs of Jamaica, Spring in New Hampshire* and *Harlem Shadows.*

Life is sparkling in his songs, ballads, and verbal paintings; there is often pain and sadness and a longing for unmitigated freedom in his melodies; at times he is bitter, full of indignation and stinging mockery, fire and hundner. His satire is heavy and effective. He is clever and original. His poems are sharply lyrical; he sings no anemic beauties; his beauty is born of pain; often, indeed, it is pain set to music, or rather pain transmuted into music.

Joseph Seaman Cotter, Charles B. Johnson, Georgia D. Johnson, Jessie R. Fauset, Leslie P. Hill, Walter E. Hawkins, Fenton Johnson, J. A. Rogers,, William Pickens, Charles S. Johnson, Langston Hughes, and dozens of others are writers possessing a remarkable scope of originality and power.

Walter F. White, who is the assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, published a remarkable book in 1925. *Fire in the Flint* is an artistic criterion; it is a minature masterpiece of psychological fiction. Mr. White is the Lochinvar come out of the West. And his mount is a thoroughbred. *Fire in the Flint* is a novel of passion and power and hatred, of a haunting cantical beauty, of the South's cruelty to the Negro. It has brought music and glamour, without sacrificing an iota of the crude biological realities. Sociology and psychology are blended into Mr. White's first novel. It is an appealing work of fine fabric and deep sentiment.

Countee Cullen is a young poet of remarkable ability. He was born in New York a little over twenty-two years ago. His poems have appeared in various white and Negro periodicals. Mr. Cullen is a prolific writer. He possesses a marvelous power of imagination and is among the greatest Negro poets of today. His poems are of exotic imagery, flaring with color and passion of life, pagan joy and daring imagination. Mr. Cullen is a young poet. He has not yet reached his embryonic maturity. It is folly to say that Mr. Cullen is the leader of Negro poets. He wants two qualities essential to great poetry—truth and humanity. I say this because there are critics who speak of him as though he were Isaiah. He, like Johnson, is a poet of the intellect. No critic should single out a writer as being primarily in the field of literature. Art must be judged by its own perfection rather than by persons defining standards to judge the compositions of a writer. Art is beauty which becomes, not a sort of emotional titillation or intellectual obsequiousness but a something essential at the heart of things that has been disassociated from its temporary, transient trappings and presented in its eternal aspect. Art is best judged by its inner experience, by its authenticity and aesthetic qualities. Negro literature is today expanding more rapidly than ever. The present century has witnessed what must certainly be considered a remarkable phenomenon—the resuscitation of the language, style and literature of the Negro. The Negro race has the broadest comedies and the deepest tragedies. He blends his passion with these two elements. . . The role of great Negro writers of color is endless. There are some persons who are skeptically inclined to believe that the American black man has not produced anything great in the world of literature. Let them remember that in order to form any adequate judgment as to the greatness of the Negro in the empire of literature, they should first study his works. In the dawn of another few years we may see already emerging more native qualities of finish, directness, composition, measure, chastened emotion—with an added sensitiveness and suppleness, and a greater intimacy.

A Poetry Religion

Harps should be most sweet and fair
Here while pain gloats everywhere.
Let my rosebud still be pure
Though the roseroots touch "manure."

While slaves slumber in the gutter,
Harps compassion's strain might utter;
Harps for squalor and decay,
Nights are touched by golden day!

Sing of gifts in reach of men
Who are sinking down. You've been
Saviors once for wretched slaves!
Calling men to life from graves!

L'Envoy

Harps, help with your fullest share
While fierce pain seems everywhere!
Harps of poets, you that can
Call down highest joy to Man.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE STARTS NEGRO FARM DEMONSTRATION WORK IN ALABAMA

By GEORGE GAY DANIEL

Local Demonstration Agent, Clarke County, Alabama

IN order that the farmers in Macon county and other counties adjacent to the Institute should be incited to do better farm work and that better home life might be insured to the farm folk of these localities, the late Dr. Booker T. Washington had sent out at stated periods, teachers trained in agriculture, home economics and rural nursing, to farmers' homes where they held itinerant schools lasting several days at a time, to which farmers and their families gathered from miles around. These itinerant schools proved such a success that the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture became impressed with the idea of Farm and Home Demonstration work for Negroes and Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, then Chief of the Office of Farmers' Cooperative Demonstration work at Washington, D. C., made visits to Tuskegee Institute and at length found Thos. M. Campbell, a graduate in agriculture, of the Institute, like Elisha in bible times, plowing, not with oxen, but with the proverbial Southern mule, and appointed him in November, 1906, the first Negro agent of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. A few months later, Hampton Institute in Virginia was visited and J. B. Pierce was appointed an agent to work in cooperation with Hampton Institute. Both agents are still in the employ of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and as Field Agents, together, cover fifteen states.

Mr. T. M. Campbell, the Field Agent residing in Alabama, supervises seven states, namely: Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Oklahoma; with 25 men and 11 women agents in the Alabama field; 11 men and 15 women in Georgia; 8 men and 8 women in Florida; 18 men and 18 women in Mississippi; 10 men and 5 women in Louisiana; 21 men and 18 women in Texas and 10 men and 4 women in Oklahoma.

Nature of Work

Negro agents operate in the same way as do the white agents and their work is divided into field demonstrations with the farmers and home demonstration work with women and girls, and club work with boys. Farmers are instructed by the local agents (men) in better methods of doing farm work according to regular plans mapped out by specialists at the land grant colleges cooperating with the U. S. Department of Agriculture; emphasizing diversification of crops; the care of the orchard and the home garden; proper use of fertilizers and manures; raising of poultry; animal husbandry generally with better breeds of livestock; particularly urging farmers to make the largest productions on the smallest acreage; better community life in the building of better homes, school-houses and churches, and teaching the best kind of recreation for the young people. With the farm wives and daughters the women agents (home demonstration agents) engage in giving instructions in the art of cooking, fruit preserving by canning, and general household economy; in the simple rules of health and care of the body; the use of the bath; a properly balanced diet and the care of children. Girls' clubs are formed by the women agents where they may start at the bottom and, with the help of the school, lay the foundation for improved home life in the girls along their minor years.

According to the records of 1925 there were 1,483 girls and 2,487 women engaged in club work in Alamaba. The work is in its initial stage owing to the lack of funds to cover a wider range of counties in the state, yet at an interstate contest in December, an Alabama club girl won the first prize of a Singer Sewing Machine for the best dress-making and another Alabama girl received first prize of a Perfection Cook Stove for efficiency in bread-making.

With respect to the farm boy, regular clubs are formed in the various communities with boys whose ages range from 10 to 18 years; the boy selecting a plot of ground and planting a crop under the direction of the agent; or in the raising of pigs, calves or poultry, reporting the results at the end of the year in regularly prescribed form. At the close of 1925, there were 156 boys' clubs in Alabama with a total enrollment of 2,371 members. Of these, 1,226 were enrolled for raising corn, aggregating 15,777 bushels; 240 boys raised cotton amounting to 251,643 pounds of seed cotton; 720 pigs were reported by 407 boys; 22 in poultry reported 1,092 chickens, while 476 engaged in miscellaneous productions such as sweet potatoes, peas, sugar cane, calves, etc. To stimulate earnest effort, community and county fairs are held at centers and prizes awarded to successful competitors.

A Short Course for Boys and Girls

A short course for boys and girls is held during the summer for 10 days at Tuskegee Institute where club boys and girls gather from all over the state for instruction in farm and home projects. At the end of three years a certificate is given to deserving students, denoting their having reached a certain degree of proficiency along the lines pursued.

Agents Are Also Trained

Farm and home demonstration agents at first were selected for the most part from rural school teachers having at least a normal school foundation in education. Those continuing in service supplement their education by attending summer schools and all attend a ten days' short course at Tuskegee Institute where they enjoy research work with lectures from specialists in farm and home economics. This course covers the use of the latest improvements in farm machinery, farm mechanics, agricultural chemistry applied to soils and fertilizers, animal husbandry generally, and poultry raising in particular. There is an opportunity of getting in touch with promoters of better race relations visiting the Institution.

The Field Agent and His Official Staff

The agents are engaged under the provisions of the Smith-Lever Act in the general cooperative extension service system, under the general supervision of the U. S. Department of Agriculture cooperating with the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, State Board of Agriculture, with the Director at Auburn. Contact is made with agents in the field through the supervising force at Tuskegee under Field Agent T. M. Campbell. His official staff consists of State Agent for men, State agent for women, State Boys' Club Agent, two Movable School agents, a Rural Health Nurse, Publicity Agent and clerical assistants (2). The official body meets the agents in the field at stated times in the year at collective business meetings, when the Director from the State Board of Agriculture also visits and delivers appropriate addresses.

During the year the state agents pay visits in the field with a view to inspection and encouragement to those "bearing the burden and heat of the day." At the annual meetings the agents state their successes and failures, and mutual help is given as they map out their programs for another year. The poet's complaint that "There be some mortals, who, Drest in a little brief authority, Play such fantastic tricks against high heaven, As make the angels weep," does not find echo here. Letters from the official headquarters at Tuskegee are addressed to "Dear Associates in Alabama," and a reciprocal expression of good will is maintained continually. Just as through the efficient service of the first Negro agent, he has risen along the line of his work and a Negro Extension county agency has been fostered by the federal and state authorities; so, by the efficient handling of a supervisory system by the official staff, will a Negro directorate be installed on the principles of true democracy; primus inter pares.

The Agricultural School on Wheels

The agricultural school on wheels is the name given to the movable school truck used in Alabama for conveying instructors to rural communities where they spend six or more days with the farm people, giving instructions on farm and home projects, carrying out a regular schedule. The present motor truck valued at about $5,000 was presented by the Negro farmers and their friends to the Negro Extension County Agency work at Tuskegee and named in

honor of the founder of Negro Extension Work and the Movable School—"The Booker T. Washington Agricultural School on Wheels." This truck carries a Delco lighting plant with equipment for lighting any large building where farmers may be gathered at night; a moving picture machine with agricultural films and otherwise instructive reels; a full supply of tools for farm carpentry; a terracing outfit; materials for equipping a health center and all the applicences for teaching simple cooking, sewing, etc. The building, usually a farm home, where the school is held is lighted at night, showing the advantages of electricity for lighting the home. The local agents assist the teachers, and sometimes the rural school teachers, the preacher and the medico render assistance. By prearrangement the school is conducted at a center near the public road and a large attendance is drawn. The farmer's house is remodeled and painted or whitewashed; a poultry house and sanitary toilet are built; the home screened; steps built; land terraced; household appliances made and men taught to sharpen saws. In regular class work men and women learn under the direction of the instructors. It follows Dr. Knapp's advice to "get down to where the people can understand, touch bottom and lift." After school is over each day the young people are taught to play such games as basket ball, volley ball, the relay, etc., and one or two evenings are given to the movies.

The Farmer's Program

The following is an outline of project work done by means of demonstrations conducted by local agents on the farm during the year:

January and February—Saving meat, pruning and spraying the orchard, terracing and ditching, winter plowing and clearing new ground, preparing the home garden, spring oats, organizing boys' and girls' clubs at schools, bedding sweet potatoes, planting Irish potatoes, holding farmers' conferences.

March and April—Preparing the seed bed, fertilizers and manures, sweet potato planting, planting cotton and corn, planting the home garden, landscaping, visiting rural school closing exercises, crop cultivation.

May and June—Crop cultivation, summer legumes, marketing fruit, preserving fruit and vegetables, hay-making, home improvement, building the sanitary toilet, early marketing, planning new buildings, beekeeping, community vegetable, poultry and egg fair.

July and August—Seed selection in the field, culling of poultry, early harvesting of cotton, hay-making, home building and improvement, attending the ten-days' short course at Tuskegee Institute.

September and October—The fall garden, harvesting cotton, gathering corn and sweet potatoes, planting fall and winter legumes, attending the movable school, road-building, pasture building, plowing vegetables under, rebuliding terraces and clearing ditches, community fairs.

November and December—The county fair, terracing, winter plowing, meat preservation, proper housing of manures, worming, pruning and spraying the orchard, visiting schools, lectures and demonstrations.

Industrial Centers a Set-Back

The large number of sawmills set in motion during the late World War, although an enemy to farm labor, has not been an un-mixed evil. Many a man who saw himself as the owner of his homestead far in the distant future has been able to bring his dreams to pass almost presto! and many another heavily mortgaged under the old cotton profiteering system was able to emerge safely with the home and his 200 acres. The large migration north, east and west added to the industrial wedging in, has necessitated the use of improved farm machinery and the riding cultivator, disc and tractor displacing the walking plow. If there are fewer laborers on the farm, they that remain can better take care of themselves with the advice of the Extension Service, as they build better homes, enjoy better community life through a better knowledge of the science of agriculture.

4-H Club Conference

Through the cooperation of the official staff at Tuskegee with the State supervisors in Mississippi and Oklahoma, the Southern Negro Boys' and Girls' 4-H Club Conference was inaugurated and the first session convened at Tuskegee Institute, December 8, 9 and 10, 1925. It was a conference of contestants, selected boys and girls of the three states of Oklahoma, Mississippi and Alabama, who engaged in contests for prizes in judging dairy cattle, hogs, poultry, seed corn, sweet potatoes, and contending for preeminence in making bread, millinery, dress-making, ploughing, milking, health and oratory. The contest in oratory was an original ten-minute speech on "The Resources of My State," in which Alabama won the three prizes awarded. It has been agreed to hold a similar contest every year when all the other states may compete.

Educational Up-lift

The successes achieved in farm and home demonstration work have given farming a higher standing and an added impetus to school attendance. Better farming has brought more money and the output upon home and school has been marked. Better school houses are being built; and teachers, receiving better salaries, are enabled to take advantage of the advanced knowledge gained at summer schools and, thus, pupils are better instructed. Negro farm demonstration work in Alabama, with its coordinate aids, home demonstration and club work, are veritable eye-openers to all the people.

We welcome brief letters, not exceeding 200 words.

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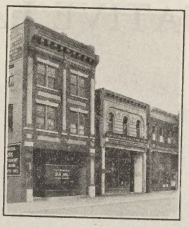

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NATIVE LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF LIBERIA

By OSCAR HUDSON

Former Liberian Consul at San Francisco, who recently made an extensive tour of the Liberian hinterland.

Left: Street Scene, Court House (Open Thatch) Bojen, Liberia; Center: Paramount Chief Momaloo with three of his wives and two of his sons from the Liberian Hinterland. This Chief has 127 living wives; Right: Palavre Kitchen (Court House) Bojen, Liberia.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fact that the Liberian Government has long since brought all of the several tribes of its hinterland under the domination of its laws, tribal laws and customs still obtain among the natives, and lesser offenses and petty civil matters are still punished and redressed by these laws, with governmental sanction. These laws are administered by the Chiefs of the different tribes, but appeal may be taken against the decisions of these Chiefs to the Paramount Chief of that particular locality. In cases where an apparent injustice has been committed in the administration of these tribal laws, appeal may also be had from the decision of the Paramount Chief to the Secretary of the Interior, whose judgment is final. In all controversies of importance, the Government is represented at the trial by a Messenger or Runner from the office of the Secretary of the Interior, who makes direct report to the Secretary of his version of the trial, approving or disapproving the decision of the Chief. These controversies are called "Palavres" (talks), a word extracted from the Spanish language, but used throughout the hinterland by the natives. The courts where these controversies are held are generally termed "Palavre Kitchens," generally consisting of a rectangular enclosure with mud floor and mud wall bannister about two and one-half feet high, with palm-thatched roof and open sides. There is a mud bench around the inner wall to accommodate the spectators, and a raised mud platform upon which is situated the throne of the Chief. The entrance to this Court is directly opposite this throne. Suspended from the ceiling in the center of the "palavre kitchen," and directly in front of the Chief, there is a rawhide loop about seven feet from the floor, which must be grasped by the right hand of the person giving testimony. The tribesmen seldom, if ever, have controversies with the civilized Liberians or with a foreigner, but they will institute a palavre against each other for the most trivial cause. The natives are very cunning, diplomatic and astute in these controversies, and the astonishing thing to the outsider is, that these controversies are seldom, if ever, accompanied with malice or hate, and are generally instituted for purely material or commercial gain and advantage. The person against whom judgment is rendered generally takes same philosophically, with the declaration: "Someone will make up for it," inferring that he will soon get a palavre on someone else to even the account up.

In one of the hinterlands I knew a native man who loaned another native a cooking pot, a leg of which was broken off while in the possession of the borrower. When the borrower returned the pot to the lender, the lender refused to accept same, whereupon the borrower offered to pay the lender the value of the pot or to purchase him another pot, the duplicate of the one that met with the accident. The lender refused these offers, stating that "he wanted that particular pot in the same condition as it was loaned, with the leg upon it. That this particular pot was a good luck pot to him, carrying a good omen for him, never having poisoned him, and that no other pot could or would do in its stead." The pot being of cast iron material, it was impossible for the borrower to comply with the demand of the lender by replacing the leg upon the pot, and the lender thereupon instituted a "pot palavre" against the borrower, the "palavre" being named according to the subject involved in the issue.

How "Palavres" Are Conducted

Upon the day of the trial the accuser is made to come forth and take the oath, which is administered by the Chief in the following manner: Contained in the palm of a leather gauntlet is a mixture of hot peppers and spices made into a paste. The gauntlet contains the paste and a small wooden spoon or paddle is held before the Chief by a Court attendant. The Chief takes the wooden spoon or paddle, dips a portion of this mixture and applies same to the tongue of the person taking the oath, who thereupon is made to exclaim: "May I die if I do not tell the truth," it being generally believed among the natives that death is certain to result from this mixture should they testify falsely. Upon questioning the Chief as to whether anyone had ever died as a result of telling a falsehood after the administration of this oath and mixture, he replied that "within his experience he had never known anyone to die from the administration of the oath and mixture, because all had spoken the truth."

All being in readiness, the trial is proceeded with. The accuser, after taking the oath, thereupon faces the accused and makes a declaration of his grievance. Thereupon the accused is caused to take the oath, and either denies or admits the accusation. If the accused denies the accusation, the witnesses are then called forward to take the oath and then retire out of the hearing of the trial (or palavre) until called to testify by the Court Messenger.

But before formal accusation is made by accuser before a Chief, it is customary, where one native has a grievance against another, to seek a friend or adviser and advocate. The accuser and advocate generally repair to the residence of the accused and there make claim or demand upon the accused for redress or retribution or compensation for the subject of the controversy. This being refused, the accuser and advocate proceed to the Chief and there make formal claim by laying the grievance of the accuser before said Chief, who thereupon summons the accused before him to make informal affirmation or denial of the accusation. If the accused makes denial, the Chief thereupon fixes the day and hour for the palavre, at which time both the accuser and the accused must appear with their witnesses ready to proceed to trial.

Upon the day of the palavre or trial, after the witnesses take the oath and are caused to retire out of the hearing of the palavre, the Chief calls upon the accuser to testify, who advances to the center of the court room or palavre kitchen, takes hold of the rawhide loop suspended from the ceiling and proceeds to give his testimony. The accuser may be first questioned by his own advocate. The accused is also permitted to have an advocate, should he so desire. The accuser is then questioned by the accused or by the advocate of the accused, and lastly the accuser is questioned by the Chief. As a general rule there is more than one tribe involved in a controversy, and inasmuch as each tribe has its own separate and distinct language, an interpreter is supplied for each tribe involved, who repeats verbatim every statement made and every question asked and answered by the witnesses or the several advocates or by the Court. I have seen court palavres in which there have been as many as six different interpreters, who generally accompany their

interpretations with pronounced gestures and loud exclamations, so that their trials or palavres are frequently very noisy, to say the least.

If the matter involved in the palavre is of sufficient importance to have a Government Messenger or representative present, included in the penalty imposed upon the person against whom judgment is had, aside from the fine and local court costs, must be added the cost of this Government Runner or Messenger.

In the case of the palavre of the pot, the accuser asserted that the accused had maliciously broken the leg off the pot in order to bring bad luck and ill omen to accuser. This accusation was denied by the accused, who justified himself by his willingness to pay said accuser the value of the pot, or to obtain a new pot for the accuser, the duplicate of the pot in question. The testimony of the witnesses was generally to the effect that they knew the pot and knew that the accuser had had that particular pot in his possession for a long time, that they had never known the pot to poison him or make him sick. At the conclusion of the testimony, judgment was rendered against the accused for double the value of the pot. This was evidently what the accuser was seeking, inasmuch as he seemed highly satisfied with the result of the palavre.

Excepting tribal wars, which have long since ceased, and the atrocities and depredations committed by the Leopard Society, which has been suppressed by the Government, there is, as a rule, very little personal violence among the natives of the hinterland. One's person is held very sacred, and when violated by the slightest laying on of the hands, a "palavre" is certain to result. Judgments for the violation of the person are not as a rule excessive, ranging from one pound to five pounds, according to the violence involved or the gravity of the offense. Ofttimes when two natives engage in a controversy and one attacks the other, the person attacked will pretend to be more seriously injured than he really is, frequently allowing himself to be knocked or pushed down, even though sufficient force was not used by the aggressor to accomplish the act. Of course this is done for the sole purpose of getting a "good palavre" against his aggressor, so that he can make it appear by his witnesses that he was violently attacked. A case of this kind recently came under my personal observation while on my way from the town of Arthington to the town of Suehn, in Montsegado County. I was preceding my companion and carriers some distance, when I came upon several gangs of natives working upon the road. Two of the Chiefs of these gangs became involved in a controversy, whereupon one of them seized the other and began shaking him. The latter, pretending to have been pushed down by his aggressor, allowed himself to fall down, but evidenlty desiring to secure me as a witness to the act, immediately jumped up and ran to me, exclaiming: "Look see mister, this man fall me down good." No doubt a court palavre resulted from this controversy, but inasmuch as I did not return to this locality, I did not hear the outcome. The necessity for appeal is obvious, as frequent abuse of authority results from these "palavres."

Left: The young man who "took stick" for his brother. Right: Chief Robert Sharp, Mayor of Kroo Town, Monrovia, Liberia.

I have known of a case where a native boy while engaged upon road construction was fined five pounds ($25.00) by a Chief for taking a pinch of salt out of a co-worker's salt bag without his permission. Needless to say that an appeal from this judgment was taken to the Paramount Chief, who reduced the amount. Aside from the costs remitted to the Government out of these fines, the balance out of all criminal proceedings is retained by the Chiefs who impose the fines, remitting, however, a portion to the Paramount Chief of that particular locality, hence it is apparent why the frequent abuse of authority. It is assumed that these Chiefs divide these fines with their henchmen in return for their loyalty and support. Although a "palavre" may result in an injustice from the decision rendered by the Chief, still it must be said that the proceedings of the "palavre" are fair and impartial.

Woman Palavre

The most frequent palavre is the so-called "woman palavre." As it is still the tribal custom of the natives of the hinterland to take on as many wives as they can or see fit, violations of the sanctity of domestic life are frequent, and quite often these "woman palavres" amount to nothing more than blackmail, for where a tribesman is fined for the violation of the domestic life of another, the fine, excepting the court costs, goes to the supposed aggrieved person in retribution for the violation of the sanctity of his domestic life. As is often the case, these wives are mere pawns in the hands of an unscrupulous husband who may be in great need of finances. In such cases it is related that it is customary for the husband to call his wives together and after administering to them a concoction made out of the bark of the sassafras, a supposed magic potion to induce them to tell the truth upon penalty of death therefrom, the husband then proceeds to question them as to their fidelity, commanding them to name the man or men with whom they have violated his domestic sanctity. The persons being named, the husband goes to each person named, lays his complaint before him in the presence of his advocate, and offers to compromise same. The person against whom the accusation is made, if guilty, generally compromises the matter so as to save court costs, and indeed ofttimes compromises the matter though he be not guilty, inasmuch as the accused realizes that the case must rise or fall upon the testimony of the female involved, who as a rule seems to take delight in testifying against the accused, while her supposedly aggrieved spouse looks on approvingly. Should the accused refuse to compromise the matter with his accuser, the accuser proceeds to the Chief to lay formal complaint against the accused, and a "woman palavre" is on. At the conclusion of the palavre, judgment having been had against the accused, and the husband's feelings having been appeased by assessing a fine upon the accused of from one to five pounds, the husband and this particular wife will be seen to go

Left: "Pot Palavre" accuser facing accused. Right: A street in the City of Bojen, Liberia.

off together triumphant and contented.

Fines imposed must be paid in the coin of the realm. If the accused has no money with which to pay and discharge the fine or judgment rendered against him, a contrivance called "sticks" is attached to his leg and he is made to go about with it until the fine or judgment is paid. A relative or friend may go in "sticks" for you that you may be released to go seek your fine. If a relative or friend takes the "sticks" for you, they cannot be released until your return with the fine or until you release them by submitting yourself to the "sticks."

The young man in the accompanying cut is the brother of a tribesman against whom a judgment of three pounds and costs—total four pounds—was rendered in a "woman palavre" at the native town of Bojen. This young man agreed to take the "sticks" while his brother went forth to raise the necessary money to discharge the fine. His brother has now been gone some three weeks, but like the loyalty and fealty of those great Greek characters, Pythias and Damon, this young man's confidence in the return of the brother and his final discharge from the "sticks" has not wavered.

Leopard Palavres

Although Leopard Palavres have long since been suppressed by Governmental decree, it will not be amiss to relate something in connection with the advent and practice of this society. It is the belief of every native man that he rests under the protection of some powerful animal or snake and that at times he can incarnate himself into this particular animal or snake for the purpose of attacking his enemies or avenging himself against them by stealing or destroying their domestic animals or fowls, or by the commission of other depredations while so incarnated. The animal claimed by most of the natives as their protector is a leopard. When animals or fowls of a native man would disappear overnight, the owner would generally resort to the Chief and make formal charge against some of his avowed enemies for the theft. Such accusations, founded only on a superstitious belief and not susceptible of material proof, were, more frequent than otherwise, subjects of grave injustice, for it was sufficient that the accuser prove the enmity of the accused for him, and the guilt of the accused was readily reasoned therefrom. The punishment inflicted in these leopard palavres was ofttimes cruel and unjust, hence their suppression by the Government.

As a result of these leopard palavres no doubt the leopard society (Liberia's hinterland black hand society) was formed. This society was a society of aggression and revenge, ofttimes visiting upon its victims harsh, cruel and inhuman treatment, and even death. In order to execute their evil designs, the members of this society would dress themselves up in leopard skins, entirely hooding their features with the head of the same, thus garbed to seek their victims against whom some member of the society or the society itself had a grievance or an imagined grievance. It is little wonder that the Government took drastic measures to suppress same.

Note: Next month Mr. Hudson will tell of the visit of a German submarine to Monrovia during the late war.

NEW BOOKS

Disrobing Superstition

JESUS: A MYTH, by Georg Brandes. Translated from the Danish by Edwin Bjorkman. Published by Albert and Charles Boni, New York. 190 pages. Price $2.

Reviewed by GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

It is doubtful whether any intelligent person accepts the Jesus Christ of the scriptures as a fact. His alleged exploits, career, death and resurrection can only be wholly swallowed by the same gullible folk who swarm into the side shows at Coney Island; who believe that George Washington never told a lie; that Congressmen are exceptionally honorable; that the Y. M. C. A. is something other than a training school for young Babbitts; or that the common people rule this country. The reviewer ditched this Jesus myth about the same time that he threw Santa Claus overboard: i.e., at the age of eight.

Now comes Mr. Brandes, the noted Danish critic. He cleans up for this old myth in a very effective manner. His disposal of Jesus will satisfy most any rational being, that is to say, it will satisfy about one-twentieth of the people. The rest want to believe such myths because of the satisfaction and compensation they derive therefrom. If they didn't swallow the Jesus myth, they would be worshipping Buddha, Osiris or Jupiter. Mentally inferior people must worship something or somebody. Thus, while this book will be read with interest by the intelligent minority, it will be shoved into the trash can with shocked silence by Baptists, Catholics, Methodists, Holy Rollers, Christian Scientists, Rotarians, and such folk.

The author holds that Jesus is as much a myth as William Tell. "The story of the Passion," he tells us, "compiled on a foundation of moods and laments out of the Old Testament, appears particularly prepared by the pictures in the Second Isaiah of the sufferings of the personified Israel." Again: "The transfer of evil, the principle of vicarious suffering, is commonly understood and practiced by races who stand on a low level of social and intellectual culture. ...This Jesus was not born by Joseph and Mary, but by faith, hope and charity.... The cults of Adonis, Attis, Osiris, and so on, lead us to the starting point of original Christianity, which was the belief in resurrection." His views here do not vary much from those expressed by Dean Inge in his paper on St. Paul in "Outspoken Essays."

The author's criticism is always keen and searching, and the few errors noted by his translator do not detract from the force of his argument. This is probably the most spirited and iron clad attack that has ever been written on the authenticity of the so-called saviour of mankind.

The Bolshevist Viewpoint

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM, by Nikolai Bukharin. International Publishers Co., Inc., 1925, New York City. Authorized translation

Reviewed by THOMAS L. DABNEY

There are books galore on sociology and social theory and new ones are appearing every year. The majority of these books, however, are written by pseudo-scientists with the old reformist point of view. Their authors never penetrate into the inner relations of social phenomena, but content themselves with a semi-religious explanation of social forces.

Historical Materialism by Nikolai Bukharin is a complete reversal of this attitude. This book is a scientific treatise on social phenomena from the Marxian viewpoint. Although the book is essentially theoretical, it contains many concrete illustrations to buttress the sociological principles deduced by the author in the course of his arguments. The contention of Bukharin is that social development orginates in and proceeds according to the economic changes in society. This theory being in opposition to the theory held by orthodox sociologists, the author is obliged to present data to substantiate his point of view. He begins this task by pointing out the class character of the social sciences. Despite the fact that the author minimizes the contributory causes for the present development of social science his main theme is well developed.

To Bukharin social phenomena are not the expression of mysterious forces harnessed and directed from the heavens, but the manifestation of material conditions in which they have their source. They are to be studied and explained, therefore, with reference to the economic structure and development of society.

Perhaps the chief contribution of Bukharin's book to the social sciences is its methodology. Throughout the book the dialectic method is followed. The author gives an objective interpretation of social phenomena. He repudiates the idealist point of view held by prominent philosophers like Aristotle, Hegel and Kant and substitutes for it the materialism of Karl Marx. He regards the teleological theory no explanation for social phenomena. In its place he uses the casual necessity theory.

Bukharin discredits the orthodox point of view of sociology, and establishes sociology on a truly scientific basis. He accomplishes this by showing the relation between the social development of society and the economic foundations of society. "The productive forces," says Bukharin, "is the point of departure in social analysis." In other words, the productive forces which form the basis of society serve as the framework for the social superstructure. No social development, whether of art, science, politics, religion, philosophy, morals, education or custom is free from the controlling influence of the economic conditions of man. Moreover, an adequate explanation and comprehension of social development is only possible by a scientific objective study of social forces in relation to the "productive forces" of society.

In chapters V and VI, Bukharin deals with the complex social relations in human development. First, there are the various relations between society and nature. Secondly, the many elements within society have certain relations to each other. Bukharin considers each of these phases at some length. Throughout these two chapters, the dynamic theory is upheld. Society

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NEGRO LABOR AND PUBLIC UTILITIES

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Well, folks, here we are again. Last month you saw what kind of a break the dark brother is given by some of the big public utilities in the real capital of the United States: New York City. Now, brethren, let us wander around the country and see what we can pick up on our three-tube set, or what have you?

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY, INC.

Doubtless our readers will recall how many telegrams they sent last year when they get the reports from the following stations:

Columbus, Ohio

(25,000 Negroes)

Mr. E. W. Grob, the City Superintendent, broadcasts as follows: "We employ one Negro as a stock clerk, and others as janitors at this office."

Kansas City, Mo.

(31,000 Negroes)

The W. U. folks send us this soothing bedtime story: "We do not employ Negroes in positions of a skilled, clerical or managerial nature. The only Negroes we employ are janitors and maids."

Chattanooga, Tenn.

(18,000 Negroes)

From that dear old Dixie, Mr. W. B. Long, the manager of the local W. U., announces: "We have only two Negro employees at this office. Neither of them are employed in a clerical capacity. They are both janitors. If Negroes are employed by this company in any other capacity except messengers and janitors I am not aware of the fact." So that's that. Well, close in, children, and hear the good news from

Pittsburgh, Pa.

(38,000 Negroes)

The message of the City Superintendent of the W. U. is short and snappy, i.e.: "We have four colored employees in our service in the capacity of janitors." This despite the fact that the burg is known as "The Smoky City."...Well, let's not get discouraged until we hear from

Augusta, Ga.

(23,000 Negroes)

A similar report comes from this prosperous village: "At this office we employ only two Negroes, both being janitors." Here is a wonderful town to be *from*.

Jacksonville, Fla.

(42,000 Negroes)

The City Superintendent of the W. U. in this great democratic city replies that no Negroes are employed in clerical, skilled or managerial positions. The positions held by Negroes are: "Matron in rest room, messengers, porters, pressers, tailor bushelman, stock room attendant, and janitors." Which is by no means a deplorable record compared to other places, not even, for instance,

Dayton, Ohio

(9,000 Negroes)

Where the W. U. folks tell us that they only have Negroes as janitors and porters.

POSTAL TELEGRAPH-CABLE COMPANY

Well, let's get away from that dear Western Union for a while and take a swift glance at its colleague. This company, you recall, is headed by the haughty gentleman who was so upset when Irving Berlin married his daughter. However, that is neither here nor there. Let us first stop at

Philadelphia, Pa.

(135,000 Negroes)

Mr. R. L. Massey, the City Superintendent, replies at some length: "We employ a Negro in the dual capacity of storekeeper and janitor at our main office. In his duties as storekeeper he renders requisitions to our general headquarters for all supplies used in our service, which includes all the various forms of message blanks and necessary records. This work requires careful consideration as to the approximate number of the various forms required. We also employ a Negro to supervise the cleaning of approximately twenty-five branches throughout the city." If this janitor is so capable why doesn't Mr. Massey give him a better job? And the echo answers, "Why?"

Cleveland, Ohio

(35,000 Negroes)

The kindness and liberality of the white people of Cleveland is proverbial. There is no lack of opportunity here, as shown by the following serenade from G. G. Vetter, the manager of the Postal's local office: "We have a Negro janitor and janitress in our employ at the local office." *Requiescat in pace!*

Kansas City, Mo.

Well! Well! Here we are back in old KaySee, where men are presumably He. The Postal Telegraph broadcast from this burg is shorter than a flapper's skirt. "No" is their answer to questions anent the employment of Negroes in skilled positions. "Janitor" is the reply regarding positions held by Negroes.

Atlanta, Ga.

(63,000 Negroes)

From the headquarters of the K. K. K., the home of Marcus Garvey and the Stone Mountain Memorial, comes the reassuring message from J. O. Young, the Postal's manager: "We do not employ Negroes in positions of a skilled, clerical or managerial nature. We employ a good many as messengers and janitors." That "signs off" the telegraph companies until next month, and we shall take a short journey among the telephone companies who collect so much money from Negroes in all parts of these so obviously United States.

TELEPHONE COMPANIES

The first station we pick up is

Raleigh, N. C.

(9,000 Negroes)

where the Negroes are doing big things in common with the other folks of the town. It is reported that there is a good Negro school system and evidently the Southeastern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Co. is aware of the fact, since it replies that Negroes are "employed only as laborers and janitors."

Ft. Worth, Tex.

(16,000 Negroes)

Whew! Took a long jump that time, didn't we, people? Right into the old home town of the Rt. Rev. J. Frank Norris, the celebrated Hound of Heaven, who recently added murder to his list of accomplishments. The Southwestern Bell Telephone Company here encourages its numerous Negro subscribers by hiring members of that race only as "janitors and cooks."

Galveston, Tex.

(10,000 Negroes)

Equally liberal in opportunities offered to bright young Negroes is the Southwestern Bell Telephone Co. in the great, free city of Galveston. It tells us: "We only use one Negro for porter and two Negro women in cafeteria."

This closes the session for the telephone companies this month. We shall now consider the marvelous opportunities offered Negro labor by the

ELECTRIC, GAS AND STREET RAILWAY COMPANIES

Yo'all know how much our folks spend for electricity and gas and street car fare, so I'm sure you'll be interested in seeing how much of what we spend in this way gets back into our pockets in the form of wages or salaries (which are only wages with a white collar on). We shall now visit the thriving city of

Seattle, Wash.

(3,000 Negroes)

Mr. D. W. Henderson, General Superintendent of the Street Railway Division of the Department of Public Utilities, replies: "We do not employ any Negroes in skilled, clerical or managerial work."

Mr. J. D. Ross, Superintendent of the Lighting Department of the big Washing-

ton metropolis, replies at greater length than his colleague. Says he: "All the employees of the City of Seattle are obtained from competitive examinations held for all positions in the employ of the city, covering clerical, engineering, mechanical engineering, mechanics, and all classes of labor.

"The City Charter does not prohibit the Negro, if he is a citizen of the city, taking the examination along with the others. Therefore, they have equal opportunity if they are qualified to pass the examination. Our experience in the City Lighting Department has been that very few Negroes enter the clerical service and there are quite a number in the labor service."

Well, that's what I call putting it up to the Negroes of Seattle. Let them write in now and tell us how many have taken the examinations.

Cleveland, Ohio

Back to dear old Cleveland, that proud city by the shores of Lake Erie, across which so many barges of Canadian liquor skim southwards. Incline thine ear, then, and hear what Mr. Paul E. Wilson, Vice-President and Secretary of The Cleveland Railway Company, has to say: "We have Negroes in our employ in positions of skilled, clerical and managerial nature. The majority of Negro employees are, however, employed as laborers and for work of semi-skilled nature." All of which isn't so bad, but one wonders how many motormen, conductors, stenographers, bookkeepers, etc., are taken from the ranks of the Negro workers.

Well, it's time to drop back down South again.

Dallas, Tex.

(25,000 Negroes)

Ol' Dallas! Lawd tuh-day! Who says ol' Dixie ain't gittin' bettah? Mr. W. L. Byrd of the Dallas Power & Light Company sends us the glad news that "we do not employ Negroes in positions of a skilled, clerical or managerial nature and only employ them in the capacity of laborers and chauffeurs." Which may or may not have something to do with that song called "The Dallas Blues."

Well, while we're so far West, children, we might as well drop in to the City of Angels, where climate is *climate*.

Los Angeles, Calif.

(16,000 Negroes)

This town, which is well known for its moonshine as well as its sunshine, to say nothing of its large colonies of such freaks as Spiritualists, Klansmen, Naturopaths, Christian Scientists, and cultists of all sorts, has the reputation of being very fair to the darker brother. Mr. C. A. Dykstra, Director of Personnel and Efficiency, Department of Water and Power, informs us: "The Negro is employed in the following positions with our department: auto truck driver, elevator operator, mechanics (Kitchen or otherwise?—*Editor*) and janitors." This isn't so terrible, everything considered.

Dayton, Ohio

So we finally got back here, eh? Good town, Dayton! Nothing like living in the North where you have opportunities for advancement! For instance, Mr. Wm. L. Smith, General Manager of the Dayton Street Railway Company, says in reply to our query concerning Negroes employed in clerical or skilled positions: "It does not." The positions held by Negroes are, we are told: "Car-washers and janitors ONLY." Note the capitalization of the word "only."

But if we don't do so well in that dear old Dayton, on the street cars, how about our chances with a public utility in the glorious state of Pat Harrison and Vardaman, where chivalry is always Southern and white women are always pure and in need of protection?

Jackson, Miss

(10,000 Negroes)

Mr. S. W. Fordyce of the Mississippi Power and Light Company, which furnishes electricity and gas and street railway service, sends in a reply as brief as a bootlegger's conscience. "Laborers," says he, referring to the employment of Negroes.

Philadelphia, Pa.

You've all heard of the Mitten Management, of course! Yes! Well, the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company is under that management. They have a publication called "Service Talks" which is doubtless one of the narcotics for workingmen usually used by open shop concerns. Mr. J. M. Shaw, the Editor of "Service Talks," writes: "P. R. T. employs Negroes in unskilled, semi-skilled (welders and grinders in Roadway Department) and supervisory positions (foremen in Roadway Department)." So much for the City of Brotherly Love. Now back to Dixie.

Raleigh, N. C.

In the old tobacco state! Mr. Wm. L. Yoder, Carolina Power & Light Company, steps right up and speaks his piece: "We have a colored foreman in charge of street railway track work, two colored patrolmen, and one colored chauffeur." Hip! Hip! Hooray!

Chicago, Ill.

(110,000 Negroes)

From "Chicago! Chicago! That Wonderful Town!"—according to the popular song—comes a letter from the Assistant Employment Manager of the Chicago Rapid Transit Company, who says: "We do not employ Negroes in positions of a skilled, clerical or managerial nature...We employ about 110 Negroes in the capacity of porters at our stations and 10 as lampmen."

Cincinnati, Ohio

(30,000 Negroes)

Memories of the old Cincinnati waterfront where heads were often bloodied though unbowed in the old days before the honky tonks became known as cabarets and the "rats" cast aside their overalls for dinner suits. So we come, in the course of our journey, to the Union Gas & Electric Company. The Assistant General Manager "gets us told" in the following manner: "We do not employ Negroes in positions of skilled, clerical or managerial nature. Negroes are employed in positions which do not require the foregoing qualifications. In our power stations several Negroes are employed as semi-skilled workmen performing jobs such as pipe covering." This will doubtless be welcome news to the graduates of Cincinnati's excellent jim-crow high school.

AMERICAN EXPRESS COMPANY

Without hesitation let us rush again to the Smoky City and see how the dark brother in search of a job stands with this big corporation.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. T. J. Worthman, Resident Manager, hastens to reply. Says he: "This company does not employ Negroes in positions of a skilled, clerical or managerial nature, in this city. We have one Negro in our office, employed as janitor."

Having received this inspiring news, let us again enter the dear old land of cotton—or should one say tobacco?

Raleigh, N. C.

Mr. Johnson, the agent, sends us the glad news that: "We are employing Negroes at this office as drivers and deliverymen." This is pretty good for little old Raleigh.

Camden, N. J.

(8,500 Negroes)

Visions of Walt Whitman, Victor Talking Machines and Campbell's Pork and Beans! Ballads, Blues and Beans! Well, E. E. Stalit, the local agent, breaks sad news to us: "This is to advise that no Negroes are employed at this office."

Cleveland, Ohio

Back to Cleveland, the city of tolerance by the lake, where "a man's a man for a' that," a sentiment which doubtless applies to Negroes also. And what sayeth the Resident Manager, Mr. J. G. Kehoe? Hist! the dark secret is about to be divulged! "There are no Negroes employed in this office," says he.

Atlantic City, N. J.

(11,000 Negroes)

In our despair we flee to the booming shores of the Broad Atlantic; to glorious Atlantic City where our dear dark brethren have the blessings of jim crow schools and a bathing beach ditto. And what murmureth the agent there? Why, the very same thing the agent in Cleveland said.

SOUTHEASTERN EXPRESS COMPANY

This is a public utility not affiliated with the American Express Co. It is said to be a subsidiary of the Southern Railroad. We heard recently from Mr. L. V. Allred, the agent at

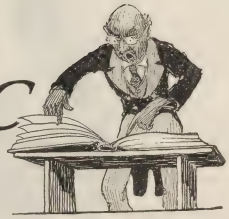
Raleigh, N. C.

And what did the agent say? Well, it is quite favorable compared to the reports from many other places. Says he: "We only use Negroes as delivery men in positions other than laborers."

Further the deponent sayeth not until the blustery month of March.

The Critic

Do they tell the truth



By J. A. ROGERS

By Their Fruits Ye Shall Name Them

BISHOP GEORGE C. CLEMENT of the A. M. E. Church, commenting on the barring of himself and his colleagues from the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., where he had been invited to attend a conference on law enforcement, is quoted as denouncing the conduct of the hotel management with the usual charge that such conduct is "un-Christian and un-American."

Is it un-Christian? Very well, then it must be Buddhist, or Shintoist or Judaic conduct? No? Then perhaps it is Mohammedan, or Hindu, or Parsee, or Pagan or Heathen, or what other form of religion will you? We suggest that Bishop Clement consult a dictionary of religion, and say to just what form of religious belief he would attribute his treatment.

Again, is it un-American? No? Then it must be German, or Dutch, or Zulu, Portuguese, Italian, Abyssinian, Japanese, Chinese, Russian.

Wasn't it said somewhere, "By their fruits ye shall know them"? Why not also, "By their fruits ye shall *name* them"?

Nigger Heaven or Negro Heaven

Where is Nigger Heaven? Van Vechten implies that it is Harlem. Kelly Miller says it is Washington, D. C. Van Vechten bases his claim on the supposed greater freedom of various sorts that the so-called Negro enjoys in Harlem. To be exact one of his characters, The Scarlet Creeper, utters the phrase in an outburst of joy at being in a cabaret, heightened by the prospect of a *nuit d'amour* with a beauty from his harem.

Kelly Miller bases his mainly on the claim of positions held, education enjoyed, and leading Negroes residing in Washington.

Now as to the respective merits of the claims: If being in a place where the chief excuse for one's existence is to furnish a living for exploiters, white and colored, is heaven, then Harlem is "Negro Heaven." When Van Vechten says "Nigger Heaven" what he really means is "Van Vechten Heaven," since Harlem furnishes a release of soul for white people of the less cow-like sort, "fed up" with the monotony and arctic whiteness, spiritual and physical, in their own group.

As for the Scarlet Creeper, nights of love and resorts exist for his type even in such a hole as Aiken, S. C. But there is this fact: In New York City he would be permitted in most of the theatres and many of the other public places. In Washington, D. C., however, both he and Kelly Miller would be barred from all places except libraries and museums. For the average Washingtonian the sole difference between Atlanta and Washington is the jim-crow car. But for that the masses might as well be living in Mississippi, since the cream of crackerdom drifts up to Washington.

The phrase "nigger heaven" applied originally to the rear gallery of the theatre where the Negroes could sit and watch the white folks disporting themselves below, hence, if our able contemporary Kelly Miller will but consider sources and let the Van Vechten phrase stand we shall agree with him most heartily.

Gas for the Republican Machine, Prosperity Model of 1928

The U. S. Treasury announces that the sum of $721,646,777 is to be refunded to income taxpayers. Considerable time and money will be spent returning this money to persons who are already wealthy, and who had kissed it good-bye.

At the same time persons of slender salaries are still being taxed in theatre tickets, passports, and multitudinous other ways to pay for the war they had won, all of which might lead certain morons to ask: Why not hold on to the first, and cut out or cut down the latter?

* * *

"Americans Flee from Mobs." News headline. Closer reading reveals, however, that it is not southern United States this time, but Southern China. What with the missionaries, the colleges and the Chinese youths studying in our universities, who can longer accuse the heathen Chinee of being backward?

Tom-Tom

This story of how Negroes brought as slaves from Africa, survived and throve in the jungles of Dutch Guiana, while the whites, with their superior mental development and fighting implements, were either forced to flee or come to terms with the blacks is one that will stir the blood of every lover of freedom, white or black.

And the author, John Vandercook, whether depicting the struggle with the forces of Nature, as the terrific vegetable growth, the turbulent streams, the beasts of prey, or the battles with human carnivora, does so with such power of language and beauty and vigor of style that one actually lives in and feels the might of the environment.

Vandercook has placed himself in such tune with the environment, he shows such a thorough knowledge of the mental processes and superstitions of these Bush Negroes that at times he seems to make himself one of them, leaving one to guess whether he actually shares their superstitions, or whether he is "spoofing" the reader. Vandercook says he is "the least 'mystic' of humans," so take your choice.

For instance, he says: "The Bush Negroes, however, have a science that is not subject to the forest decay. It is a science of things—but not of things that rot as steel does. It is a science of ideas, of weird herbs, and words and portents and strange phases of the moon. They call it magic, and so do we. But our understanding is thin and blind and wrong.

"Magic is not fakery—not illusion—not trickery at all. Magic is the great reality of the jungle. When famines, pestilences and evils come upon the forest people, it is magic that wards them off. Magic saves."

Of course, if it is magic that saves the Bush Negro and permits him to live in this adverse environment rather than his inborn powers, then much of the praise that Vandercook showers on him will be nullified, for the moment some deity enters and takes a hand, must not credit be given that deity, whether one calls him God or Magic?

Besides, it sounds so much like "the mysteries of Africa" that Garvey promised his credulous followers.

Again, the author seems actually to believe with the Bush Negroes that dead men do tell tales. He says: "They insist so emphatically that they hear the answers of the dead, it is, from a strictly legal standpoint, impossible to deny the verity of the statement.

"In our country we believe a man is telling the truth if he can bring forward half a dozen reputable people who will testify they agree with him.

"In Suriname there are twenty thousand witnesses who will swear upon their life that they *do actually, physically, hear the discourse of dead lips*...There is no doubt, whatever, that the Bush Negroes do talk with their dead and do hear them talk."

Now, if these Bush Negroes can only hear dead white men talk, it seems the New York police is lagging in its duty in not importing a few to solve our murder mysteries.

For the civilized Negro, Vandercook has but supreme contempt, some of which is justified. "Most conspicuous," he says, "is the devoted acceptance of Christianity by the American Negro." Speaking of the American Negro's acceptance of white man's ways, clothes, customs, inventions, he says, "Whether these various gods and things are right or wrong or best or worst doesn't matter. I cannot see how anyone

(*Turn to page* 61)

Edito

Opinion of the leading

THE Old Year has passed on into eternity. It was notable in many ways. It was eventful. For America it was prosperous though the common people did not enjoy prosperity. For the masses it was severely lean though the ruling class did not suffer.

The Year Old and New

During the year the American Octopus of imperialism pushed its tentacles deeper into the bowels of Central and South America, especially extending increasing dominion over Nicaragua, Panama, and now threatens Mexico.

Politics reached a notoriously high water mark of corruption in the sensational primaries of Pennsylvania and Illinois, resulting in a determined sentiment to bar Vare and Smith from the Senate, while Governor Al Smith made the sensational record of being elected for four terms of the Empire State. Agitation for and against prohibition raged violently, meanwhile bootlegging flourished despite the large casualty list from high-powered gin. The corn-belt farmers clamored hotly for a Government subsidy because of a falling market. Albeit, American oil interests sought to get the Government to back them in their defiance of article XXVII of the Mexican Constitution.

The high points of labor were the Passaic, Fur Workers' and Cloak-makers' strikers, the unionization of the Pullman porters and the movement to expel the communists from the trade union movement, the New Railway Labor Act and the wage increase of the Trainmen and Conductors.

In religion, fundamentalism bristled with pronounced vigor, while the Catholics staged in the Eucharistic Congress, perhaps the most pretentious religious demonstration of all time, apparently only to provoke a revolt against Catholicism by the Mexican Government.

In matters of race, the Sweet trial was the strongest blow to mob law while Aiken raised its ugliest mien.

In world politics, the United States placidly insists upon the collection of her debts, remaining piously aloof from the League while Europe, sorely pressed, vigorously strove to set her economic and political house in order. Locarno marked the highest reach in Europe's trend toward erecting the conditions of peace. Of no little significance was the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations. The League apparently gathered more power, although Spain and Brazil withdrew; and Mussolini, the spectacular Fascist dictator, regards it cynically.

Soviet Russia was rated by many bourgeois moderates as the most stable Government in all Europe, but America continued to refuse recognition, perhaps, the only outstanding nation which holds this attitude.

England has not been so merry. She has been rocked to her very foundations by the storms of the General Strike, which has been dubbed by friend and foe as success and failure. A disastrous coal strike of unusual length has compelled England to think seriously of effecting a reorganization of the coal industry on a social service basis. In conformity with the principle of compromise which has characterized the long development of the English people, the Dominions and the Mother Country, through the Conference of Premiers, have attempted to build up a sort of autonomous cooperative structure, which maintains the British Commonwealth and at the same time allows virtual independence to the Crown Colonies.

Labor has astonishingly re-entrenched itself, politically, in the by-elections which portends a return to power in the next general election. Britannica has also made a great gesture of magnanimity to the Great and Weaker Powers on the question of extra-territoriality in China, probably necessitated by the menacing rising tide of Chinese nationalism. Lloyd George dramatically seeks to galvanize a waning political personality with a defunct neo-liberalism, but apparently to no avail, for Labor seems bent upon the policy of treading the path of political struggle unaccompanied by the charming and wily Welshman.

In Spain and Poland, dictators Primo de Rivera and Pilsudski still hold the reins of political power.

The Republic of Angora reflects the astute personality of the mysterious Mustapha Kemal Pasha who pilots the new Turks stably onward, while a hypocritical puritantic American Senate hesitates to ratify a plan of recognition, feigning memories of the barbarities of the ancient Turks upon the Christians, while Aiken stinks to high Heaven under its very nose.

In the Far Eastern section of world affairs, China is by far the most significant question owing to the vitality with which Canton fights for release from the fell clutches of foreign rule. This may be the beginning of the shifting of world power from the hands of the white to the darker races.

While India is apparently quiescent, she still champs in restive mood, at the bits of British imperialism, for the Non-Cooperative Movement of Mahatma Ghandi is not dead.

No determined signs of revolt seem to be stirring in Egypt or South Africa, though the will to freedom is still there and they will not long remain subjugated.

Liberia has lost her liberty and independence to Firestone, an American capitalist. Of course, Liberia needs capital. But she cannot have capital from capitalists and independence, too. She, like the other smaller nations, white, black, yellow and what not, is caught in a dilemma forged by industrial and financial imperialism. It would appear that the period of the independence of smaller nations is passed. They are inevitably doomed to become the vassals of the Power nations.

Some persons of eminence and worth who passed from the stage of action in America were Scarborough, Elliott and Valentino.

Queen Marie of a petit principality of Europe secured an amazing servile obeisance of democratic America on her recent jazz excursion through the country.

The redoubtable Harry Wills and Dempsey crumbled ignominiously before the onrush of minor adversaries to the consternation and despair of many furious fight fans.

Corruption is corroding the heart of white organized baseball. Ty Cobb, an intractable Negro hater, is cited as one of the principals.

What do the signs of fortune hold for the New Year? Millions now living may never know. Signs of increasing magnitude, however, would seem to show that it may yet fall to the lot of labor to save the world.

rials

colored American thinkers

THERE is an ever increasing need for serious economic thinking in the world today. The major problems of the world are economic. National and international affairs are being more and more shaped by economic forces. Without an understanding of the play of these forces, one is sure to miss the true meaning of the great human conflicts.

An Economic Movement

Not only nations but the oppressed minorities are beginning to sense that the chief source of their troubles is economic, and that an effective solution lies in the application of an economic technique and methodology.

Economic thinking is well-nigh a new category of thinking for the Negro. Why is this? comes the query. One reason is that our leadership has been largely religious, literary, political and industrial-educational.

But today this type of thinking does not reach the heart of our problem. Our race, like other groups, falls into two classes: one, those who live off income arising from the possession of property; two, those who live off income arising from the sale of their labor-power. In the category of those who sell their labor power, may be grouped practically 98 per cent of the adult Negro population. Hence, it is the interests of this 98 per cent which should mainly concern the leadership of the race. But the salvation of this mass of Negro workers can only be achieved through a systematic economic program projected and executed through a definite comprehensive economic movement.

This movement should take cognizance of the Negro as a worker and a consumer, not so much from the point of view of industrial training and opportunity as from the standpoint of labor union and consumer's cooperative organizations and worker-tenant's associations for more wages, shorter, better working conditions, better housing at lower rent and the increased purchasing power of the dollar.

Perhaps in the domain lie the seeds of the next great struggle of men of color in America.

Of this more anon.

THE startling evidence of barbarity unearthed by White practically struck the world dumb with amazement and consternation. Through the *New York World*, he related the details of a chapter of America's greatest disgrace. Enlightened society winced at the morbid savagery of it all, although Cole Blease, a United States Senator was enough of a cheap demagogue to rush to the defense of his fellow lynchers.

Walter White

Realizing that their hands were dyed incarnadine in the blood of black men, denied the simple right of trial by jury, the lynchers chafing under the pungent rays of publicity, yelped for the blood of Mr. White. Every one shuns the light whose deeds are evil. It would appear that a Federal law against lynching is still in order, regardless of whether it can be enforced or not. It would constitute a sharp and stinging moral condemnation of the mobocratic South.

One of the best jobs of investigation and journalism which has been done in many a day was done by Mr. White on the Aiken case. At the risk of life and limb, he virtually penetrated the heart of hell to secure the facts on the infamous and fiendish murder of the Lowman family.

With an astute and practical hand he turned the white light of publicity on this dastardly deed of deviltry and damnation.

ALWAYS vigilant and fearless, Mr. Thomas stands guard in the interest of the Negro's rights in the nation's capitol. Unyielding and uncompromising, with firm set jaws and clinched fists, he faces the foe in and out of reason.

He is perhaps the only outspoken, militant Negro teacher in America. Unmindful of possible reprisals, he has always unflinchingly stepped forward to lend his fine talent and ability to the Negro's fight for freedom.

Neval Thomas

Now, he is on the firing line demanding a just and equitable share of the public schools funds for Negro schools. He is ably wielding his facile and formidable weapon of agitation. While others permit themselves to be muffled, he can be depended upon to speak out without fear or favor in unequivocal condemnation of prejudice and special privilege. His unconquerable spirit for freedom and justice will ever enrich the life and labor of men of color.

THERE are some people who seem to have an instinct for propaganda. They scent with the sureness that a cat scents a mouse, all wrongs against oppressed and exploited peoples. Among this small group of militant idealists will be found William Pickens.

He has gone to Europe to attend a conference of colonials. There he will voice the interests, hopes and aims of the American Negro with his able and fearless pen and masterly oratory.

William Pickens

Already echoes of his assaults upon intrenched superstition and prejudice of race and color have reached our shores. Indeed, Europe will not soon forget the intrepid Dean. May we continue to send such embassadors of courage and culture to the outer world of race and nation.

THE Keystone and the Southern, banks, headed by Messrs. Asbury and R. R. Wright, Jr., respectively, have combined. It is the result of economic necessity. It is a mark of financial wisdom. If two gigantic banking institutions in New York representing two hundred million dollars each find it necessary to combine in the interest of a greater measure of security and development, surely small Negro banks cannot afford to remain separate and independent.

Negro Banks in Philadelphia Combine

Big business can effect larger economies and therefore give better and cheaper service to the public than small, parasitic business can give.

This is a splendid example for Negro business generally. Competition, experience has shown, is not the life, but the death of trade.

Negro insurance companies, too, will find it advisable to follow suit.

(*Turn to page 63*)

Business & Industry

THE Binga State Bank of Chicago, Ill., has increased its capital stock from $200,000 to $300,000, and will maintain a surplus of $60,000 instead of $40,000. Three new directors have been added. They are: Dr. Richard A. Williams of the Royal Circle of Friends, State Senator Adelbert H. Roberts and Thomas E. Webb of the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association.

The Jordan Hat Manufacturing Company of Oakland, California, is to enlarge its manufacturing plant and improve its retail store and open a mail order department. Almost all of the stock of the company has been purchased by Negroes of the vicinity.

The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company of Durham, N. C., has just announced that in keeping with its policy to encourage the development of Negro business and to more fully serve the public and its policyholders, it transferred on January 1st to the Century Life Insurance Company of Little Rock, Arkansas, its ordinary and industrial insurance business in the states of Arkansas, Oklahoma and Mississippi. It recently sold its business in the state of Florida to the Afro-American Life Insurance Company of Jacksonville, Florida. There is certainly a good field in the North and the North Carolina Mutual is headed this way.

The Century Life Insurance Company is a new company which has among its organizers and officers John L. Webb, A. E. Bush, B. G. Olive and other prominent men of the section. The new company plans to develop the Southwestern part of the United States as an insurance field which will in time extend to California. Good for Arkansas!

A group of Negroes in New York have completed plans for a new Harlem National Bank with a capital and surplus of $260,000. It is said that a charter has already been granted. At last!

The open shop coal barons in Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia are vigorously opposing efforts to organize the inexperienced Negro miners they have lured into the district. Agents of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, which is conducting an active campaign through its columns for the unionization of the black miners, have been warned in several places not to sell the paper to the men. And we thought slavery was abolished!

The Eroy C. Ware Motion Picture Studio, which is said to be the most completly equipped studio in the country owned and operated by a Negro, has announced the completion of its latest film production, "You Can't Win." The Ware Studio is located in Detroit, Mich. Oh, yes! We're in everything nowadays!

Charles Compton, a Negro foreman employed by a big contracting firm with headquarters in Kansas City, was forced recently to leave Blackwell, Okla., an all-white town, along with his crew of Negro workmen, because of the prejudice of the white citizens. Ah! Those big-hearted Southerners!

The Oklahoma *Eagle*, an enterprising Negro newspaper in the big oil town of Tulsa, reports that the Tulsa Negroes have been making remarkable progress in business since the white Christians burned them out six years ago. It is reported that this Negro community has a life insurance company covering the entire field of ordinary and industrial insurance; a trust company that sells dry goods, clothing and shoes, and maintains an agent-selling force and mail order business that reaches about thirty states, Mexico and the West Indies; a canning factory; a chemical laboratory; two bottling works; a bakery; a hospital, and two newspapers. Watch out, you other towns!

The Industrial Department of the Chicago Urban League will conduct a vigorous campaign to secure more employment for Negroes in the mercantile establishments on Chicago's South Side, which are very largely owned and operated by white people. A joint citizens' committee is being organized to conduct the campaign. Yes, what we need is more jobs—and more money for them.

The latest red herring inaugurated by the Pullman Company to keep the porters' minds off the questions of wages and hours of work is the placing of the porter's full name on the wall of the car to discourage the time-honored calling of "George." This move was doubtless made to counteract the work of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to which a majority of the porters belong.

The Citizens' and Southern Bank and Trust Company and the Keystone Bank of Philadelphia, Pa., have merged to form the Greater Citizens' and Southern Bank and Trust Company. This is the first time in history that two Negro banks have merged their facilities. The capital and surplus of the new combined bank is said to be over a quarter of a million dollars. Who said Philly was asleep?

Vera Simonton, the author of "Hell's Playground" from which the play "White Cargo" was dramatized, is authority for the statement that the morals of the white men in Africa are so low that the natives refuse to permit their women to work for them. This is doubtless why one always hears reference to "Boy" servants in Africa.

Oscar Hudson, prominent San Francisco attorney who is also Liberian Consul in that city, has just returned from Liberia. Mr. Hudson is representing the newly formed Liberian National Bank which is capitalized at $1,000,000. Forty per cent of the capital stock is being offered to American Negroes.

The house of George and Company, investment bankers, New York, N. Y., which was incorporated in 1925 with a capitalization of $15,000, is growing by leaps and bounds. It is associated with some of the largest financial concerns in the Wall Street district. The company recently participated with A. Fitkin & Co., of Chicago, Ill., in the distribution of the $30,000,000 issue of the Virginia Public Service Corporation. Just shows that other things besides "numbers" can be made the source of prosperity in Harlem.

Caledonia Phillips, a Negro who has been 30 years in the postal service, has been promoted to the position of assistant superintendent of the Williamsburg Post Office in the Borough of Bronx, New York, N. Y., where he has been acting as special clerk. Mr. Phillips is the second Negro to hold such a position in New York City. He would have a fat chance in Alabama.

The Nashville Globe, a Negro newspaper in the city in Tennessee of that name, issued a special holiday number on December 17th, 1926, which consisted of fifty-two pages, for the purpose of showing the progress of Nashville's Negro population. Henry Allen Boyd is the editor.

The Northeastern Life Insurance Company of Newark, N. J., which has been in operation for fifteen months and has written a million and a half dollars of insurance, recently paid its first claim of $2,000. Mr. Harry Pace is president. That man Pace is a genius!

The Douglass National Bank of Chicago, Ill., recently made loans to 500 former Negro soldiers in one day, on Government insurance policies. The loans ranged from $15 to $150. The Douglass National Bank is the only national bank owned and operated by Negroes. Anthony Overton is president.

Miss Stella Stokes, a Negro woman of Kansas City, Kansas, has been appointed bond clerk in the office of the State Auditor of Kansas. Miss Stokes is the first Negro woman who has ever been employed in the State Auditor's office.

Mrs. Rosa Lewis, proprietor of the Cavendish Hotel, London, England, and known as the "Queen of Cooks," said recently: "You Americans, contrary to general belief, have some of the finest cooking in the world, that of the American Negro. The Negro has contributed something original to the art. Fried chicken, beaten biscuits, spoon bread—these are in my opinion among the best dishes ever tasted." We'll say they are!

The Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., reports that the annual turnover of Negro labor in Chicago is from 30 to 35 per cent. This is expensive, it is said, both to workers and employers, and tends to lower efficiency.

Negroes in Durham, N. C., recently incorporated the Negro Fidelity and Surety Company, with $200,000 capital stock. The company will write fidelity and surety bonds, accident, health, burglary, automobile theft, plate glass, travel and allied lines of insurance. This is the first company of the kind to be established by Negroes. Those Durham Negroes are stepping out.

Dr. H. O. Sargent, agent for agricul-

tural education for Negro farmers in the state of Arkansas under the Federal Board for Vocational Education, announces that there are more than 1,241 pupils taking the course in Negro institutions in Arkansas. He states that these pupils produced $208,663 worth of farm products, and the Government received a return of $6.70 for each dollar spent on a teacher's salary. And they say we are inefficient!

Eight prominent Negroes of Muskogee, Okla., recently pledged $130 toward the support of the $10,000 budget being raised by the National Negro Business League.

The Gardiner Williams Mfg. Co. of Philadelphia, Pa., which is owned by Negro women of that city and manufactures women's and children's wearing apparel, employs an expert cutter, a designer, six machine operators, an office manager, and a sales force. Mrs. Evelyn C. Gardiner heads the concern. Now let the men get busy!

The United States Women's Bureau at Washington, D. C., which has just studied the earnings of 535 Negro women in Mississippi industries, shows an average of $5.75 per employee. The average wage for white women workers is $9.85. The industries observed were box-making, candy, men's clothing, general textiles, general mercantile goods, five and ten cent factories and laundries. This is the state of Pat Harrison and Perry Howard, of lynching and illiteracy and concubinage. And yet we send Marines to civilize Haiti!

The Armstrong Association of Philadelphia announces that fifteen Negro girls have been placed in positions in the great Gimbel department store in that city. The girls are employed as packers. Hitherto Negro women have only been employed as maids and elevator girls. We hope they are getting a decent salary.

Negro employees of the automobile accessories agencies in Des Moines, Iowa, have organized a union known as the Automotive Workers' Association. Robert Sims is president. Labor organization, these fellows realize, is the only salvation of the working class.

The 36th Annual Tuskegee Farm Conference was held at Tuskegee, Ala., on January 19th. The Negro farmers discussed means of overcoming unfavorable agricultural conditions. Attention was also given to the subject of marketing and diversification of crops.

The Federated Press states that 6,000 Negro workers organized in 165 local unions are affiliated directly with the American Federation of Labor. These largely consist of coach and car cleaners, freight handlers, shipyard workers, train porters, mechanics' helpers, station porters, platform men and mail and baggage handlers. This total is *exclusive* of the Negro workers organized jointly with white workers as in the building trades, longshoremen, etc., and the organized theatrical workers, musicians and the independent Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which alone has a membership of over 6,000. Organization of labor is the only salvation of the Negro worker.

A new oil field has been opened in Seminole County, Okla., and the Seminole Freedmen—mixed Indians and Negroes—will soon be as wealthy as the Osage Indians, if reports are to be believed. The recent oil strike started on the farm of Mose Jones, a son of a former Seminole slave. His income immediately jumped from nothing to $200 a day; 131,141 barrels flowed from the new pool in one 24-hour period. This should be a rich field for young bachelors!

According to an Associated Negro Press report, Dr. Eugene Nelson of Los Angeles, whose Jazzland Cabaret has been maintained by Negro patronage, has closed it to Negroes and will serve white only. It is a tragedy when a Negro discriminates against his own people.

The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company of Durham, N. C., received a gold medal from the Sesquicentennial Exposition in Philadelphia for its display in the Negro exhibit.

The New York Tattler has been incorporated for $10,000 in New York, N. Y. The publishing company is headed by A. A. Jackson, Jr. This *Tattler* is a new offspring of the old *Tattler* which became the *Inter-State Tattler* a couple of years ago when the sheriff descended on it. The *Inter-State Tattler* still lives under the guiding genius of the erudite Bennie Butler.

An enameline plant in Palmyra, N. J., is operated and owned by Negro experts and skilled and unskilled workers. This plant was put in operation four years ago with a capital stock of $125,000. The plant manufactures enamel signs. It will soon be manufacturing kitchen utensils. There is a sales force of 25 persons. The enameling furnace alone is valued at $15,000. All praise to the Palmyra, N. J., Negroes.

The Congo Mission News reports that due to the concessionaire system and to forced labor drafts the population of French Equatorial Africa is "alarmingly on the decrease. In 1911 the four colonies of Gabon, Moyen-Congo, Oubangui-Chari and Tchad had 4,280,000 Africans. In 1921 the figure was 1,577,000. Now the estimated number is 1,250,000." Hooray for Christian civilization!

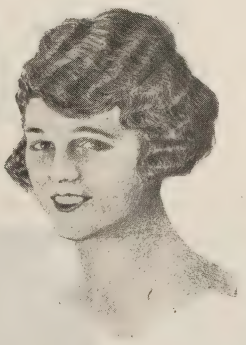
Ted Carroll, a youthful Negro cartoonist living in New York City, is on the Staff of the Brooklyn *Times* and is doing work for the New York *Evening Graphic*, the New Madison Square Garden (Tex Rickard, proprietor), and for Humbert J. Fugazy, the noted Italian-American fight promoter. He was the sports cartoonist, while still in his 'teens, of a large, though now defunct New York daily newspaper. The cartoons in this magazine have been drawn by Mr. Carroll for the past sixteen months. His success ought to be an inspiration to our struggling youth.

Wayfarer

I walk among them.
Here are homes,
Here is the warm hearth
For the wayfarer,
Here a warm heart
For the man of dreams.

I walk among them,
In all their streets
Where is the open heart
For me?

By DAVID P. BERENBERG.



MEN PREFER BEAUTY

Clothes, talent and personality play their part, but all else being equal, men prefer Beauty—the subtle, intriguing finesse of skin and hair. You too can know the joy of being a preferred person, an utterly lovely creature.

Use

MADAM C. J. WALKER'S

Wonderful Hair Grower—Glossine
Shampoo—Tetter Salve
Temple Grower
Clinging, Invisible Face Powder
Talc - Rouge
Perfume and Toilet Water

Each a chemist's masterpiece. Obtainable at Walker Agents Shoppes, good drug stores and direct by mail.

The Madam C. J. Walker Mfg. Co., Inc.
640 N. West St. Indianapolis, Ind.

PROCLAIMER

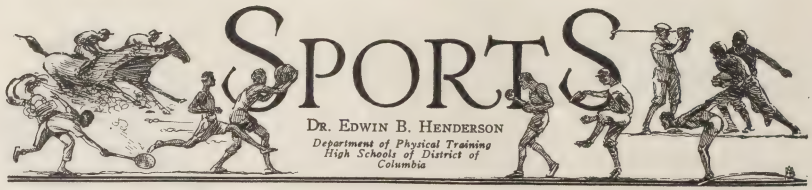
By WILLIAM J. ROMES

Every man proclaims his calling,
Whether lofty, great or grand:
Base or petty—mean or cringing—
By the sun-dial of his hand.

TO YOU OF ANOTHER HUE

By FRANCES R. MARIE SMITH

You have the freedom of all the earth,
But what of me?
You receive the value of your mind's worth,
But what of me?
The air we breathe, the sights we see,
Are they for you, too, and not for me?
Oh, what of me?
Ah, you may have the works of man,
But God gives the beauties of the land—
That's for me.



Few Headliners in Northern Colleges

DR. HENDERSON

Aframerican athletes of first rank on white college teams are scarcer today than for many a year. It will be a racial misfortune if here and there dark-hued faces fail to add color to varsity teams. Crooks of Harvard soccer fame and Brice Taylor of California are outstanding. But between Harvard and California there are few of national fame. These men of valor in the past and those to come in the future played or will play no mean part in establishing better racial relationships. To get somewhere in America the individual or groups of us who are striving for ourselves first hope by our accomplishments or acts to force fewer restricting odds in our battle for more equal opportunities. Colored boys fighting in the gladiatorial arenas before hundreds of thousands of admiring whites have done much to soften racial prejudices. I doubt much whether the mere acquisition of hundreds of degrees or academic honors have influenced the mass mind of America as much as the soul appeal made in a thrilling run for a touchodwn by a colored athlete, a jump by Gourdain or Hubbard or the heart touching strains of Roland Hayes. Fairness creeps out of the soul in the athletic world to a larger extent than anywhere else despite the occasional crooked deal handed out in the money game like the decision given Flowers at the behest of the shrewd manager of Mickey Walker.

Colleges for colored students are developing hundreds of stellar athletes, many of whom would claim headline space in metropolitan dailies if they played on the white college teams. The competition between colored colleges is growing so keen that the scouts and alumni comb secondary school fields for likely material for alma mater. This search has pulled the star prep athletes from New England and the Middle States' schools into colored colleges far into the southland who otherwise might have matriculated in Northern universities. I would encourage more Lewis's, Pollards, Gregorys and Slaters to enter the playfields and the stadia of the north and west. Let's sacrifice some local college pride and encourage such boys as Gregory of Dewitt Clinton, other Drews, Hubbards, Marshalls, Morrisons and Martins to make for Amherst, Michigan, Illinois, Penn, and Harvard to carve athletic marks. The battle may be harder but the glory will be all the larger for the individual and the race.

* * *

Sport Surface but Scratched

Our 1926 calendar of sports reads like an opening primer in the book of sport knowledge. We have our champions in basketball, track, baseball, football, tennis, and lately golf. Let us hope 1927 calendar will see some champions in the following list of sports: Cross country, marathoning, hockey, wrestling, cycling, chess, gymnastics, squash tennis, court tennis, racquets, volley ball, billiards, bowling, fencing, rowing, polo, soccer, lacrosse, handball, skating, figure skating, skiing, swimming, canoeing, automobile racing, motor boating, trap shooting and others. We have had some good men in these events in the past and a few today, but we hope for more. Buster Woods skiing at Dartmouth, Wormley of Dartmouth now with his letter at lacrosse, Major Taylor at bicycling, Earl Johnson at cross country, Crooks of Harvard at soccer, are some of those who have touched newer fields.

* * *

C. I. A. A. Break Near Healing

Lincoln has reentered the C. I. A. A. Members have not been restricted in the playing of games with other than conference teams. Time is healing gashes that reasonable methods should have abridged sooner. Nobody has gained. Everyone has lost. The athletic cause has suffered. The attempt to force through a standard set of eligibility rules has failed for the time but the need for rules is just as urgent and the rules will be forthcoming shortly limiting competition and to make more even competing odds.

* * *

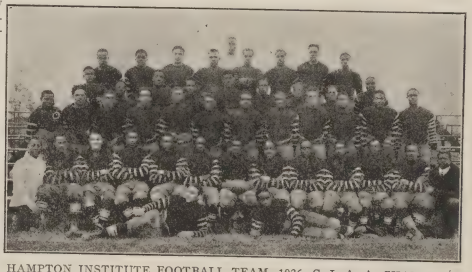
Cobb, Speaker, Leonard, Et Al.

We have often mentioned the besetting national sin of hypocrisy in amateur athletics. Americans prefer to wear blinders rather than see the truth and be free. When recently two national idols were dethroned by their own confessions of crookedness howls of holy righteousness went up over the land. Impossible,—said the hundreds of writers. When sports assume the proportions of big money making business,—when men make their living at games, is it surprising to think that they will be more honest than in other businesses and money making professions? How many doctors refuse to write whiskey prescriptions for any but medical purposes? How many lawyers refuse to defend cases of clients with

(*Turn to page* 61)

HOWARD UNIVERSITY 1926 FOOTBALL TEAM

Front row, sitting, left to right: Ewell, C. Smith, Campbell, Kelley, Martin, Captain V. Smith, Rainey, Thomas, Sallie, Young, Ross. Second row: Coles, Brown, Sayles, A. Smith, Ellison, Miller, Hawkins, Simpson, Hinton, Tyson. Third row: Nixon, Thompson, Bryant, Dokes, Dr. Scott, Coach Watson, Dr. Davis, Manager Codwell, Harris, Mitchell, Whitted. Fourth row: Payne, Hawes, Harlan, Adams, Jones.


HAMPTON INSTITUTE FOOTBALL TEAM, 1926, C. I. A. A. CHAMPIONS

Top row, left to right: Williams, G. D.; Moore, Clarke, Branson, Hargrove, Student Asst.; Wilkins, Price, Hagey, Harding. Second row: J. O. Williams, C. Harris, Renfrow, W. Harris, Quick, Wilson, Hill, Godfrey, R. S. Williams. Third row: H. Harris, Hardwick, Downing, Bruce, Baldwin, Hyatte, Perkins, Miller, Hunter, Halsey, Gates, Thomas. Fourth row: C. H. Williams, Phys. Dir.; Thatcher, Davis, Byrd, Ruffin, E. Baker, Lee, Capt.; W. D. Williams, Banks, McGowan, Munday, Robinson, G. E. Smith, Coach. On the Ground: Weatherford, F. Baker.

The Theater

The Souls of Black Folks

By THEOPHILUS LEWIS

Variation 0137 of Monologue No. 8

In spite of the conscientious efforts of the world's best minds to keep them down, bogus ideas about art and artists are everlastingly bobbing up to impede and embarrass sensible men and women engaged in creative work. These spurious notions seem to be as hard to conquer as vermin in a hotel kitchen, for they are no sooner subdued in one form than they reappear in some gaudier and more seductive guise, just as pestiferous as ever to the judicious and just as attractive to the multitude. Perhaps the most formidable of these protean fallacies is the art for art's sake humbug, a piece of hokum which reveals itself in numerous doctrines which appear contradictory on the surface though all of them lead to the conclusion that art is something wholly detached from life, like Christian Science or J. A. Rogers' views on the Negro problem. The truth, of course, is just the reverse. Instead of being hauled down out of airy nothingness art is extracted from the very core of life. This is why the highest art, no matter how thoroughly it is refined and perfumed, never quite loses the odor of viscera and bowels.

The raw material of art is the way men live, its production is the result of their imagination, and its function is to satisfy their spiritual hunger. Since its final and efficient causes are immanent in the acts and wants of people, it follows that genuine art can be produced only by men with a sound understanding of the nature and processes of life. The mentally near-sighted and emotionally anaemic cannot produce art; they can only produce imitations. This does not mean a man must be 100 per cent sagacious in order to produce sound art. It simply means he must possess a sure insight into the essentials of human motivation and behavior. In non-essential matters it won't hurt him if his mind is prone to run wild; indeed, for all I know, it may be a help to his imagination. The story of the Nativity is fiction; the idea that children cherish illusions with greater intensity than grown folks is full of error, and the views of Judge Gary on labor conditions are sheer nonsense, but a man may accept all those beliefs as gospel truth and still be able to paint good pictures, compose fine music or write poignant drama. But if he believes in two dimensional space or that marrying a loose woman to a man who loves her will automatically put a padlock on her personality and evermore prevent her from saying yes—if he believes things like that it shows his mind is out of contact with reality at vital points; he is either incapable of making accurate observations or lacks sufficient imagination to grasp the meaning of what he observes. And without the ability to see straight and think straight a man cannot perform the function of an artist. The best he can make of himself is a pretty good business man or perhaps a fair to middling instructor in philosophy.

As an example of a presumably good pedagogue gone wrong I point to Massa Paul Green, and if anybody wants to know why I say so I submit his play, In Abraham's Bosom, the current offering at the Provincetown Playhouse. Massa Paul may be a wow in the business of initiating young crackers in the mysteries of Kant, Hegel and Spinoza, but when he turns from books to life he is no more capable of making clear observations than I am of reading the Rosetta stone. Being unable to see life in its true perspective, he just naturally can't produce sound drama. I am aware, of course, of the loud hosannas a chorus of Broadway critics, led by the mellifluent Barrett H. Clark, are chanting in praise of Massa Green, but that only means a playwright can get away with murder if he is shrewd enough to call his play a treatment of Negro life. Once the leading character is identified as a mulatto the Park Row boys throw Aristotle, Hazlitt, Lessing and the rest out of the window.

In Abraham's Bosom consists of two shorter plays spliced together. This would be a difficult undertaking even if both plays were similar in structure and theme. The fact that he has attempted to combine two organically different types of plays in one shows just how well Massa Green understands the art of the dramatist. The basis of drama, as William Archer has pointed out, is character. Every worthwhile play is built around the way some distinctive man or woman struggles with some problem of life. Now every individual has *one* character, not *two*. A man may be mercurial or he may be steadfast in his purposes, but he cannot be both. Each of the two plays Marse Paul has attempted to weld in one is constructed around a different type of temperament. The Abraham of the first play is a man of extravagant dreams but with no heart for the prolonged, gruelling struggle which is the price of success. As soon as the fight gets hot he deserts the barricades and seeks the solace of Cytherea. The Abraham of the second play is a doggedly persistent man who won't turn aside from what he has set his hand to do till the Butcher cuts him down. For him defeat is merely the prelude to rallying his forces for another offensive. After repeated reverses, perhaps, he ceases to believe in victory, but he can't stop hoping and fighting for victory. At least that is the kind of man Massa Green tried to make him. He didn't near succeed, of course, but he did make him definite enough to be incompatible with the Abraham of the first play. Which is a structural weakness sufficient to make the play break down from internal strain.

The play is not only mechanically weak; it is constructed of rotten material. One of the implications of the first play is that an erotic temperament and a lack of stamina go together. I suspect Massa Green attaches a racial significance to this, but since he doesn't say so I won't charge him with it. The thing is unsound on broader human grounds. Any of the illiterate field workers Massa Paul has so assidiously watched suffer could have told him that when a man went into the woods with a girl it didn't necessarily mean he intended to devote the rest of his life to going in the woods. Surely he must have read enough history to know that among the greatest geniuses you find the greatest lovers—examples: King David and his son King Solomon, Napoleon, Du Maupassant, Lord Byron and Catherine the Great. Equally untenable are the conclusions Massa Paul draws from the fact that the Negro masses are frequently indifferent and even hostile to blessings of education. Here he does imply special significance, and here, too, not only his conclusions but his facts are at fault. Instead of being indifferent to learning, Negroes, next to Jews, are perhaps the most enthusiastic supporters of education in the world. Their passion for education actually amounts to a weakness, so much so that one can collect good graft by visiting the smaller churches and posing as an indigent college student. The preacher will invariably pass the plate for the benefit of the seeker after learning and frequently he will waive his rake-off. Besides, when it comes to sending their own children to school white people are just as negligent as blacks; if they were not it would not have been necessary to decorate every code in Christendom with a compulsory school law. Lack of space prevents me from pointing out other numerous instances where Massa Green has mistaken the obvious for the actual and other places where he has attempted to palm off mere irrational behavior for authentic Negro character. Indeed, to rid the play of its imbecilities would be to destroy every essential of its structure.

In certain minor ways Massa Paul has achieved a modicum of success. He has accurately observed how workingmen go about eating their lunch, how sick people move themselves in bed, and how a poverty stricken woman acts when somebody steals her last fifty cents. But such accurate observation of everyday conduct alone does not constitute good drama. If it does then a Daily News photograph of Jack Dempsey is superior art to a George Bellows lithograph.

What the play lacks in dramatic interest is to a great extent made up for by the Provincetown's staging and casting. In spite of the Negro's much vaunted "natural" ability to act, the premier honors in the

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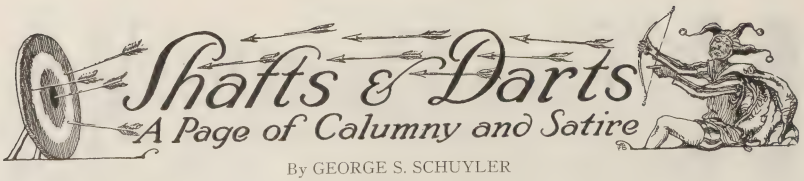

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Aframerican Fables—No. 10

The Jordans, Mary and Frank, were hard workers. Frank earned—or was paid—twenty dollars a week as a drug store porter. Mary washed and ironed. There were two children, also named Frank and Mary. The parents managed to earn just enough between them to pay the rent and buy food and clothing. To help along they took in two roomers. So they felt they were doing well for a Harlem family. Suddenly Frank fell ill and had to stop work. The doctor's bills ate up all of their little savings in an incredibly short time. Rent day approached and Mary was frantic. With no money with which to pay the rent, she saw herself and the family being moved out on the sidewalk. She decided to go and have a talk with the landlord.

She had heard that the Harlem landlords were hard and unyielding. She felt that there was little hope of arousing the sympathy of this particular landlord, but she decided to plead nevertheless. It was ten o'clock when she arrived at his office. The landlord, a corpulent brown fellow, was sitting comfortably in his swivel chair puffing on a fat cigar and reading the evening tabloid. He greeted her with an inquisitive "Well?"

Quickly she stated her straitened circumstances and her inability to pay the $90 on the next day for the six rooms she occupied. "I just can't get it together this month," she cried, "and probably won't be able to pay up for a couple of months. Nobody's helping me now and I've got to pay a big doctor's bill. Then, winter's coming and I've got to get clothing for the children."

The landlord twisted his cigar around in his mouth, blew a cloud of smoke toward the chandelier over his head, and then replied with a kindly smile, "Well, that's perfectly all right, Mrs. Jordan. I know how it is; I was poor once myself. You needn't worry about being dispossessed. I've got a heart, I have. You've always paid your rent regularly, so you needn't worry. Just pay me when you get the money. Anyway, I've been thinking of reducing your rent for a long time. Ninety dollars is an exorbitant rental to pay for six little rooms such as you have. Those rooms aren't worth more than fifty dollars a month and I have decided to reduce your rent to that figure. Ninety dollars is too much for you to pay with all your burdens. Just go home and don't worry about the rent. I won't bother you—I'm a Christian."

All-ll together, men: Som-m-me ——!

It May Come to This

(Special to the Evening Garbage)

Washington, D. C.—Body-Snatchers' Local No. 1, of the Amalgamated Undertakers' and Embalmers' Association of North America, introduced a resolution at the 55th convention of that organization today commending the Federal Government for its Christian work in poisoning alcohol in an effort to enforce the 18th Amendment and the Volstead Law. I. Wanna Korpps, the head of the local organization, in introducing the resolution spoke in glowing terms of Wayne B. Wheeler and Andrew Mellon and lauded them for the valuable assistance they were rendering the morticians of the nation. "They have rendered a distinct public service," the speaker thundered. "There is no member of this learned profession present today but knows what an impetus to our business their activities have been."

Before the convention adjourned for the day, it was decided to spend a million dollars during the year 1927 to subsidize night clubs, cabarets and "soft drink" emporiums in some of the large centers of population to facilitate the consumption of bootleg liquor. "This is legitimate business, gentlemen," shouted E. N. Balm, a mortician from Chicago who introduced the motion, "and we can count on the cooperation of the Federal Government." It is reported that Andrew Volstead will be made the patron saint of the association at its next sitting.

In Imitation of Washington

On the 22nd of this month, we are sure that all good, loyal, red-blooded, 150 per cent, patriotic Americans will pause in whatever labors they may be engaged and drink a toast of poison Government liquor to the Father of Our Country, remembering his strict adherence to truth as indicated by his historic remark: "I cannot tell a lie; I did it with my little hatchet." As is fitting and proper, many of our prominent Negro citizens have decided to follow his example, as indicated below.

"I cannot tell a lie; the Negro Sanhedrin is extinct."—*Prof. Kelly Miller.*

"I cannot tell a lie; I am not antagonistic to Moscow.—*Lovett Fort Whiteman.*

"We cannot tell a lie; the high Negro death rate doesn't harm us."—*Negro Undertakers.*

"I cannot tell a lie; I find religion very profitable."—*George E. Haynes.*

"I cannot tell a lie; I've not grown poor collecting 'dah-tah.'"—*Eugene Kinckle Jones.*

"We cannot tell a lie; housing segregation pays us."—*Allied Negro Realtors.*

"I cannot tell a lie; I'm getting sick of these mops and pails."—*Marcus Garvey.*

"I cannot tell a lie; I'm worried sick about the future of office selling."—*Benjamin Jeff Davis.*

"I cannot tell a lie; I was only temporarily on the Pullman payroll."—*Perry W. Howard.*

"We cannot tell a lie; we're worried about the future of our salaries."—*U. N. I. A. Staff.*

"We cannot tell a lie; the decrease in church membership is incompatible with the rapidly increasing price of gasoline and moonshine."—*United Negro Clergy.*

"We cannot tell a lie; we're scared of this Brotherhood of Porters."—*Pullman Company Officials.*

Modern Euphemisms Defined

Period of Deflation. Season of unemployment and business failures when the wage slaves and petty business men are all deflated by the Big Boys.

Military Casualty. The legalized murder or wounding of a uniformed wage slave of one ruling class by that of another in time of war. Homicides committed by wage slaves in time of peace usually nets them "a hot seat."

Social Service. A palliative invented by the upper class, administered by the bright offspring of the middle class to ease the pains of the working class to keep them from ousting the upper class. 2. A cold, "efficient" statistical substitute for the warmer and more intimate paternalism of chattel slavery.

Act of God. A term applied to unexpected fires, wrecks, eruptions of volcanoes, devastating hurricanes and other catastrophes in which lives and property are destroyed. This term is freely used as advertising for the church by Christian clergymen and laymen but was doubtless invented by atheists as a libel on the Deity.

Sphere of Influence. An area grabbed from a weak country (weak in arms and ammunition) by the uniformed slaves of a strong government for the purpose of facilitating trade and exploitation. Revenues are often collected by an agent of the imperialistic government but the native flag is allowed to float over the area as long as the natives do not get "uppity."

Sales Resistance. The natural aversion of the salesman's potential victim to buying something he doesn't need or cannot afford.

Mourning. An advertisement of eligibility for another marriage; a bid for sympathy and attention from the largely indifferent public; often a public expression of sorrow for a feeling of secret relief.

Y. M. C. A. A hotel and recreation building supported by big labor exploiters and conducted under the sign of the cross for the purpose of training young Babbitts. This institution is to be commended for

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THE STATE OF THE BROTHERHOOD

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

The World of Color is stirring. In America, China, India and Africa, the hearts of the disinherited sons of color yearn for freedom. Black, yellow and brown men seek re-orientation in their racial, national, economic, political and social existences. Tides of nationalism and racialism rise threateningly in the lands of ebon races to throw off their white capitalist oppressors. They demand the right of self-determination loudly proclaimed during the Great World War by the Entente. They are restive under the severe exploitation of financial imperialism.

With the national units, too, waves of discontent are sweeping over oppressed minorities of varying race, creed, color or nationality.

Negroes in the United States and the West Indies are, at an amazingly accelerated rate, glimpsing the meaning of the New Freedom. The psychology of the struggle for freedom of an individual or race, nation or class is that the struggle never ceases until all forms of freedom are achieved.

Thus, in the course of our race's evolution, it is natural that the struggle for civil and political freedom should be followed by the economic.

When the Brotherhood rose, it rose to fulfill this cosmic condition as well as the particular needs of the Pullman porters and maids. The rise of the movement to organize the Pullman porters marks an inevitable stage in the trend of race, social and labor progress.

Necessity Mothers Brotherhood

The Brotherhood was born in the womb of necessity. Such has been the case with the American Labor Movement; in fact, it has been the case with the Labor Movement everywhere. The inability to satisfy human wants with the reward for labor, drove the workers to unite to protect their interests.

Porters Robbed for 50 Years

With the advent of the Pullman Company came also the Negro Pullman porter. Beginning practically with no wages, only in 1926, under the pressure of the Brotherhood did wages reach the low level of $72.50. The docility and sub-servience of the Negro, recently emancipated, was capitalized and exploited by the Pullman Company.

Pullman Riches Built on Negro Labor

Upon the unpaid labor of the Negro Pullman porter, the gigantic structure of the Pullman Company has been erected.

Millions which the porters by every law of morality and reason were entitled to, have been re-invested for the material expansion of the Company and the payment of fabulous dividends on watered stocks.

No other group of workers in America would have borne so silently the economic outrages the Negroes in the Pullman service have borne.

Employee Representation Plan Collapses

So intolerable did working conditions become that it became necessary to invent some form of deception to palliate and appease a growing discontent among the men. Adroit Pullman officials seized upon the Company Union, sugar-coated the Employee Representation Plan.

Innocent porters and maids readily and eagerly accepted it as a new declaration of justice on the part of the Company toward its colored employees. To them it represented a manifestation of fair-play. Of course, they had no part in creating it. In fact, they did not know what it was all about. But it had the appearance of organization; besides Negroes were made rubber-stamp officials of it. This naturally appealed to their sense of race pride. Despite this fact, many of them distrusted it, though afraid to voice opposition because of Pullman espionage. While the conductors saw that it was a joker and rejected it, the Plan was jammed down the throats of the porters.

The Plan was given a thorough trial over a period of five or more years. Under it discontent grew instead of abating because of its utter and miserable failure to satisfactorily adjust grievances.

Birth of the Brotherhood

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was born as a revolt against low wages, intolerable working conditions and the Employee Representation Plan, which was organized by the Company to whitewash the conditions with a view to lulling porters to sleep.

The Negro officials of the Plan who sought to make it function themselves were framed up and discharged. This policy was calculated to weed the strong men out of the Plan so as to man it with the weaklings who would uncomplainingly accept anything the Company did, no matter how absurdly unjust it might be.

Of course, even though a Negro official of the Plan protested against the injustice of it, nothing came of the protest. Nobody would heed it. Thus, the Plan came more and more into disfavor.

Strong Porters Victims of Plan

Roy Lancaster, A. L. Totten, Bennie Smith of Omaha, Frank Boyd of St. Paul, were some of the few porters who were victimized because they insisted upon giving an accused porter the benefit of the doubt before he was convicted. The persecution of Mr. Lancaster by Mr. Mitchell, Superintendent of the Pennsylvania District, fanned the flames of discontent among the porters, giving a strong justification for an organization of, by and for the porters.

Negro Press

At the outset, the Negro press, as a rule, was either opposed or lukewarm on the Movement. It was difficult to find a Negro paper which wrote a positive editorial in favor of the Brotherhood. Practically all of the Negro editors were either uncertain and doubtful about the wisdom of the move or they were definitely opposed because of money reasons or ignorance.

Of all the champions of the Brotherhood, the Pittsburgh Courier has been the most militant and uncompromising, giving unlimited space to the presentation of the porters' cause.

Organization Campaign Throughout Country

The Courier was of inestimable value to the organizers as the campaign of organization, agitation and education swept through the East, South, West and Far West, since it carried the message into every nook and corner. Other publications that aided us were The Amsterdam News, New York Age, The Washington Tribune, The Wichita Protest, The California Eagle, New Age Dispatch, The Boston Chronicle, The Guardian, The Black Dispatch, The Philadelphia Tribune, The Crisis, etc.

During our struggle in the past fourteen months the Brotherhood has held over 2,500 propaganda-organization meetings, covering practically every Pullman District in the country, and a large number of agencies.

Brotherhood Distributes Millions of Propaganda Leaflets

Perhaps never before in the history of the Negro has such a flood of fundamental economic literature assaulted the minds of the Negro race. Over 5,000,000 pieces of literature, discussing the need and importance of *organization* to the race, and especially that of the economic form, was distributed. I am quite conservative when I say that perhaps more economic education was given the Negroes in America during this brief period than during their entire fifty years of freedom. For practically no economic training has been given the Negro. His training has been chiefly industrial-manual or of the classical and religious type; and the chief forms of organization have been of the fraternal, religious, literary and civil rights nature. Never before the advent of the Brotherhood has any systematic, definite, comprehensive agitation for economic labor organization as a method of solving the race problem been conducted among Negroes. Thus, the movement to organize the Pullman porters and maids has been a national school in economics for the race.

But not only has the Brotherhood carried on fundamental economic education through leaflets, booklets, circulars, papers and magazines, it has gotten together the first economic survey of the race.

Economic Survey

Realizing that so stupendous a fight for economic justice could not be successfully

conducted on hear-say, conjecture, guess and speculation, it planned an economic survey into wages, working and living conditions among the porters and maids, basing wage demands upon definite budgeting standards as set forth by the United States Department of Labor Statistics. A thorough inquiry was made into the ability of the Pullman Company to pay, by analyzing the finances of the Company over a period of a half-century, upon a basis of its reports to the Interstate Commerce Commission and other Government agencies. It is to be noted that the Company has always plead poverty to the porters in the fake "wage conferences" staged by the Company for the deception of the porters in particular and the public in general. Whenever a wage increase was granted, much ado was made out of the big per cent. increase the porters had received since the War, although the increase only brought the wage up to a point much below that required to maintain a family according to decent standards of living. Many porters, well-meaning but misguided, were taken in by this sophistry and wage juggling of the Company. Even the public thought that porters and maids were getting rotten rich on tips. It was necessary for this delusion to be dispelled, for this myth to be shattered. Hence, the Brotherhood secured the Labor Bureau nationally and internationally known as an expert, scientific Bureau of Economists, which has handled surveys for the standard railroad unions, to make the survey, covering more than 300 pages, at a cost of several thousand dollars. It is as scientific as anything which any of the "Big Four" Brotherhoods has ever gotten out.

A digest of the survey has been compiled in a beautiful booklet and sent to the various associations of political science, economics, sociology, social service, colleges and universities, libraries, editors, publicists, authors, labor leaders, captains of industry, churchmen, professors, etc., as a result of which hundreds of letters have come in commending the sober, dispassionate and basic manner in which the whole question of organization, wages and working conditions has been handled. Even big businessmen assented to the justice of our cause, and bade us God speed.

Brotherhood Educates White World

Cognizant of the fact that the message of the Brotherhood and the cause of Negro labor must go beyond the boundaries of the colored world, the writer has steadily sought to get the ear and attention of the white public. On his tour through the country, he spoke at the Universities of Chicago, California, Minnesota, Reed College, a body of students of the University of Denver, numerous sororities, fraternities, civic and social bodies, professional and liberal groups, ministerial alliances, student conferences, business associations and city labor bodies.

The Brotherhood made the first systematic presentation of the cause of Negro wage earners to the white world, to white labor groups. Many of these white bodies had never heard of a Negro union or of Negroes who were interested in unionism. They had been led to believe that all Negroes were voluntary scabs. This superstition and prejudice arising therefrom was dealt a severe blow and a new attitude was immediately manifest among the various white groups when they heard the message of the industrial group of Negroes, who were committed to a program of organized labor.

White Educators Rally to Brotherhood

Along with educational, organizational, agitational work conducted by the organizers themselves among the porters, a formidable array of some of America's leading thinkers were mobilized and brought before the men at various meetings, to give talks on economic movements, the history and meaning of labor organization.

Professor Bowman of Columbia University; Algernon Lee, Director of the Rand School of Social Science; ex-Governor Sweet of Colorado; Morris Hillquit, noted labor attorney; Donald R. Richberg, co-author of the new Railway Labor Act; Mornis Ernst, representing Kuhn Loeb & Co.; H. T. Hunt, former member of the United States Railroad Labor Board; Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary-Treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; James Oneal, Editor of the New Leader; Mr. Orr, Special Organizer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; Mr. Lovell, Legislative Director for the Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen; Mr. Clark, Vice-President of the Order of Train Conductors; H. E. Wills, Vice-Grand Chief Locomotive Engineers; Hugh Frayne, New York Organizer of The American Federation of Labor; Mary MacDowell, Head of the Department of Public Welfare of the City of Chicago; Mayor Brown of Seattle, and many others too numerous to list.

Despite the opposition of some of the weaker Negro leaders, the Brotherhood has been backed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the leaders of the National Urban League, the Conference of Congregational Workers, the Elks Convention, the Convention of the New York State Knights of Pythians, the Women Trade Union League, Union of Federal Employees of Chicago, and scores of other white and colored organizations including the American Federation of Labor and the Standard Railroad Organizations.

We have recently enlisted in our fight, Mr. Samuel Untermyer, one of the largest stock holders of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, and nationally known lawyer. Daily, more powerful friends are growing up for the Brotherhood, who are dedicating their hearts to the work of helping our cause. One of the new group is Mr. Wilbur K. Thomas, Executive Secretary of the Society of Friends, representing a distinguished group of Quakers. Here is public opinion which no corporation can long resist.

Labor Dinner

For the first time in the history of the Negro, the cause of the Negro workers was presented to the world at a labor dinner, November 30, in the Yorkville Casino, New York City. Three hundred of some of America's most distinguished citizens attended. Samuel Untermyer, Robert L. Vann, Eugene Kinckle Jones of the National Urban League, Robert W. Bagnall of the N. A. A. C. P., and Mary MacDowell of Chicago, spoke. It was an epochal, unique and significant affair.

Hearing with Mediation Board

In line with the phenomenal growth of the Brotherhood, on the 8th of December, the preliminary hearings with Hon. Edwin P. Morrow, one of the Mediators, began. They extended over a period of some eight or ten days. We reached a milepost which our enemies doubted we would ever get to. The Brotherhood and the Pullman Company made their respective contentions. The findings will be reported by Mr. Morrow to the Board as it sits in the "whole" some time in January, and a policy of procedure with respect to future mediation will be formulated. The Brotherhood's case is considered by attorney, Mr. Richberg, as being exceptionally strong. The Company contended that 85% of the porters and maids voted for the Employee Representation Plan. The Brotherhood countered this claim with 1,000 affidavits showing intimidation, coercion and influence compelling the men to vote. Hence, it maintained that the whole Plan was a deliberate violation of the new Railway Labor Act, a Federal Statute.

It is utterly impossible for the Company to break down the Brotherhood's case. It will ultimately see the wisdom of dealing with the Union. It is its only alternative. It cannot escape the course of action the railroad companies have followed with respect to railroad unions, or its own policy relative to the Pullman conductors. Why in all reason should the Company accept a conductor with a union card and attempt to prevent a porter from carrying one? Public opinion will not tolerate this rank discrimination.

Brotherhood Shock to Pullman

When the Union began August 25, 1925, in the Elks' Imperial Hall, in New York, the Company was amazed at the Movement, although it pretended to take it lightly. Old Company men like Bannister and Botts, Smith of St. Louis, Sample and Kirk, Freeman and Shannon, practically all of the Pullman porter-instructors and welfare workers arrayed themselves against the Union. This was natural, since these Negro Pullman officials receive $150.00 a month, whereas the porters get only $72.50. If they had taken the side of the Brotherhood, they would have been discharged. This they knew.

The Pullman Porters' Benefit Association, which was nominally a porters' organization but actually the Pullman Company's organization since its finances are controlled by the Company, was used to oppose the Union by placing advertisements in Negro papers with a view to influencing their policy on the Brotherhood.

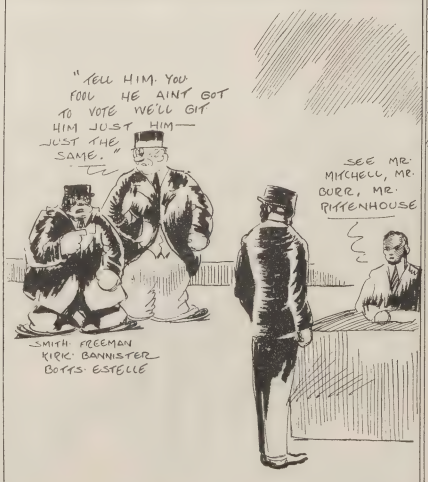
Things To Remember

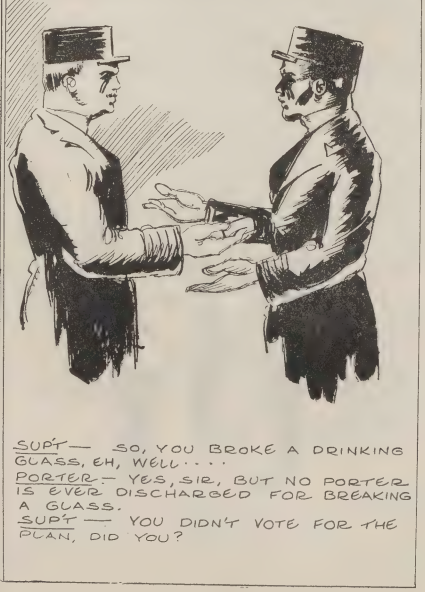
1. Be efficient.
2. Be courteous.
3. Be punctual.
4. Think before speaking.
5. Know what you're talking about.
6. Get your information from Brotherhood Headquarters.
7. Read your official organ.

HEY-WAIT!
YOU BOYS VOTED YET? IF YOU DONT VOTE I IS SOINTA TELL DE WHITE FOLKS! YOU HEAH ME? YOU HAS GOT DAT BROTHERHOOD BUG!!
GO DROWN YOURSELVES-OLD FOOLS!!
'PORTER INSTRUCTORS'
"WE HAVE 1000 AFFIDAVITS SHOWING INTIMIDATION AND COERCION OF PORTERS BY THE COMPANY TO FORCE THEM TO VOTE FOR THE COMPANY UNION. WE HAVE A MAJORITY OF THE PORTERS ENROLLED AS MEMBERS. THE PLAN IS A VIOLATION OF A FEDERAL LAW—THE NEW RAILWAY LABOR ACT."
RANDOLPH
U.S. MEDIATORS
WEBSTER
PRICE
"NOW, WHAT WILL WE DO? THIS BROTHERHOOD REALLY GOT A HEARING FROM THE U.S. MEDIATION BOARD. NOW THESE FELLOWS WILL SURE JOIN— WELL, IF THEY STICK WE CAN'T BEAT 'EM AND IT LOOKS LIKE THEY WILL STICK."
PULLMAN OFFICIALS
YOU GUYS GOT THAT PULLMAN BUNCH LICKED TO A FRAZZLE. NOW SHOW 'EM YOU GOT GUTS TO STICK AND FORK UP THE CASH TO PAY FOR YOUR FIGHT WE HAD TO DO IT."
"WE'LL STICK TILL HELL FREEZES OVER. WE DON'T WANT SOMETHING FOR NOTHING. WE'RE NEW NEGROES."

PULLMAN CO — AIN'T YOU GOINTA VOTE?
PORTER— NO, THANKS, I DON'T CARE TO.
UNCLE TOM — LAWD A MUSSY! LOOK HEAH SON, AINT YOU GOINTA VOTE SHO NUFF FOR DESE WHITE FOLKS. SPECKS YOU GOT DAT RANDOLPH FEVER, TOO, HUH?

PULLMAN CO.— SO YOU AINT GOINTA VOTE FOR THE COMPANY UNION, EH?
UNCLE TOM— I'LL GIT YOU, YOU SMART ALECK!
PORTER— DONALD R. RICHBERG, CO-AUTHOR OF THE NEW RAILWAY LABOR ACT SAYS ITS A VIOLATION OF A FEDERAL LAW TO COMPELL A PORTER TO VOTE FOR YOUR COMPANY UNION.


"TELL HIM. YOU FOOL HE AINT GOT TO VOTE WE'LL GIT HIM JUST HIM— JUST THE SAME."
SEE MR. MITCHELL, MR. BURR, MR. RITTENHOUSE
SMITH FREEMAN KIRK BANNISTER BOTTS ESTELLE



SUP'T— SO, YOU BROKE A DRINKING GLASS, EH, WELL....
PORTER— YES, SIR, BUT NO PORTER IS EVER DISCHARGED FOR BREAKING A GLASS.
SUP'T— YOU DIDN'T VOTE FOR THE PLAN, DID YOU?

THE COMPANY'S CONFERENCE

What Happened in the Last Pullman Employee Plan Wage Conference

(Analysis of Minutes Continued from Last Issue)

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

On the fifth day of the Conference, according to the minutes, Floor Leader, Porter Anderson, read Rule 1, paragraph (a) and stated that in view of statements made by the Management, the porters' representatives (?) had taken this cause under further consideration and had agreed to a compromise measure of 10,000 miles per month as the limit after which over-time would be paid. This is 1,000 miles less than the regular mileage—but 2,800 more than the Pullman conductors make, and still the Management rejected it and forced the 11,000 mileage on the conference.

Then the Floor Leader requested the Management to give their views on what is termed "preparatory time." Evidently the Management assumed that the porters were either hopelessly ignorant or safely scared to death. Listen to this:

Says Mr. Simmons: "I have not been able to figure out why a porter who is paid, say $90.00 per month, or at any monthly rate, should care whether the car is turning wheels or not."

Can you beat that? In other words, a porter should not care whether he is worked eight hours or 14 hours a day just so long as he is paid $72 or $90 a month. If the porter should not care whether the car is turning wheels or not, why is it the Company cares, as is shown by the fact the porter's time or pay does not begin until the train leaves the station or when the wheels begin turning and ends when the train arrives or when the wheels stop turning. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

Continues Mr. Simmons: "He works 26 days and is off four days, the equivalent of four Sundays and when paid by the month it should be immaterial whether the wheels of his car are rolling."

Is that so? All other railroad workers are very much concerned. Even granting that a porter is paid by the month it is very material whether he works 240 hours a month or 400 hours. The former may represent a fair hourage, the latter may represent a dangerous physical exhaustion. This is the reason why the railroad workers have insisted upon the 240 hour month.

Here is a specimen of Mr. Simmon's reasoning: "Suppose, he (the porter) was out with a special party for a three months' trip and they stop at the Grand Canyon for a month; he might say that was all preparatory time because the car was not running; though that is not true and we pay him by the month for his services while the car is not running."

This example proves nothing. It is simple and self-evident that from the porters' angle of interest, it does not make a particle of difference whether he spends a month at the Grand Canyon or at the Grand Central Terminal, he is putting in service time for the Company and insists that it is fair and just that he be paid upon an hourage basis, since it makes all the difference in the world to the porter whether he puts in 350 hours of service time or 240 at the Grand Canyon or the Grand Central. No intelligent porter would want to give up all of his time during a month in service to the Company even if it gave him a thousand dollars a month, for over-work means a broken down health and an early death. The reason for the demand of the workers everywhere for a shorter work day, week or month, is that they want more leisure with which to enjoy the fruits of their labor.

Says Mr. Simmons further: "Suppose the car was parked and used for a hotel or hospital purposes as we did during the cyclone disaster a year ago in Southern Illinois. The car was not moving, it was not preparatory time, yet the porters' pay went on just the same."

Well, weren't the porters on duty? They were under orders of the Company. They were not on the cars out of any desire of theirs. They would much rather have been at home. They were there because of the necessities of the service. They were entitled to pay just as the engineers, Pullman and train conductors and the other part of the train crew were entitled to and received pay. Would Mr. Simmons agree that because a ship was hit by a storm at sea and it was anchored and assumed the role of a sort of hospital for the injured or served as a hospital for the passengers of another wrecked ship, that the sailors should not be paid, because the ship was not actually sailing? Whether a car is moving or not, if a porter is on under orders of the Company, he is giving service-time and should be paid for same on an hourage basis. The fact that there is a rule that a porter should never leave his car unprotected is proof that his presence on the car either at the terminal station or the Grand Canyon is important, material and valuable to the Company.

Continues Mr. Simmons in his labored fallacious reasoning: "The real question is about overtime for excess mileage under the plan established by the United States Government."

But how can there be any overtime with a mileage of 11,000 miles which but a handful of porters are even able to make? The accumulated mileage column is a bottomless pit which can swallow up all the delayed arrival hours and the miles the average porter can make and still cause the porter to come up short of any overtime.

It is interesting to note that the reference to the mileage plan as established by the U. S. Government was intended to give the 11,000 miles some color of fairness. Why is it the Government didn't fix any such unreasonable mileage plan for any other group of workers? The reason is that the other workers were organized, whereas the porters were not.

"Reducing the mileage from 11,000 to 10,000 miles as requested by you would tend to equalize the difference between preparatory time on the long lines and on the short lines as would likewise the payment for delayed train arrivals which you have requested," whatever that means. Surely Mr. Simmons does not cite this as any reason for maintaining the 11,000 mileage plan. They raised this same straw-man to the conductors. But they didn't fall for it. But of course, that Company Union outfit would fall for anything, for they didn't know what it was all about. And even if they knew, they wouldn't have dared to say so. They were securely muzzled.

Mr. Murdock, of California, suggested that if the time book would show when the porter reported for work and would also show the time he was released, instead of simply showing the time of car departure and time of car arrival, then there would not be nearly so much discussion about preparatory time and in that way men would know how many hours of home rest they were to have.

While this might be so, still it would not alter the fact that porters were putting in service time for which they were not paid. It would only show the enormous number of hours a porter was working for such little pay.

Mr. Simmons agreed that this was a very good suggestion, and said that he felt that the time sheet should be a record of the work performed and time put in by the porter, rather than a record of train departures and arrivals and that he would take this matter up with the Accounting Department and endeavor to have the time sheet changed accordingly.

Apparently the Management is always ready to make an immaterial change.

Mr. Simmons then took up for discussion the change that porters wanted made by adding to Rule 3, a new paragraph, reading:

"Porters operating on standard sleeping cars on one night runs will not be required to make more than two round trips without relief."

It was discussed and the meeting adjourned.

(To Be Continued)

Things to Remember

1. **Giving Service**
2. **Getting New Members**
3. **Paying All Dues**
4. **Attending Meetings**
5. **Avoiding Stool Pigeons**

Open Forum

A Voice for Supporter and Opponent

Letters hereafter must not exceed 200 words—the 23rd Psalm had no more!

My dear Mr. Randolph:

Just a line to let you know that the auxiliary is getting on very well. We are working steadily and surely, and if we are not making the strides in getting numbers and raising money as other auxiliaries, it is because of the peculiar conditions in this city. Strides have been made, however, in the development and strengthening of purpose, and in the development and strengthening of talents. This organization being a righteous one with honest, intelligent and devoted leaders has brought to the fore men and women of character and resolution and ability and will speedily relegate all who hold positions of affluence because of their chicanery.

I am sure that you receive letters almost daily detailing others' viewpoints which, when all are put together, will give you at least a faint idea of the value of this wonderful organization.

Each of our husbands received a letter from your office revealing the enormous amount of money needed for the prosecution of the case of the Brotherhood. So we are sending you a money order for twenty-five dollars. It is a small amount but if you knew the happiness it gives us for having a part in this movement, it would fully compensate you for the lack of dollars. We will send you money orders from time to time.

This auxiliary is with you. You are our champion; our hero. This organization has developed a bond of friendship and love with each of us and with you which cannot be broken.

Please keep me in touch with developments as I receive so many phone calls for information.

Sincerely yours,
PRESIDENT LADIES' AUXILIARY, N. Y. C.

Long Island City, N. Y.
November 26th, 1926.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

I have received your invitation for the Labor Dinner on November 30th at the Yorkville Casino. I am very much obliged to you.

The Brotherhood will excuse me for not coming. I am not a long time in this country and I can not understand English very well. I am sorry that I cannot come. You see my salary is very small.

I know that it is very necessary for our Negro brothers to have a good union salary. I myself fought since 25 years in Germany for good salaries, well prepared working places and 8 hours a day for my comrades and me.

Fraternally yours,
KARL KEINATH.

Minneapolis, Minn.
December 8th, 1926.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Herewith a few remarks, a few facts, and some figures—maybe as food for thought and maybe useful as data for enentation to the honorable Mediation Board.

I am a "utility man" in my district. I get along "nice" because I act "nice." I know which side my bread is buttered on and where it must come from, and I desire regular nourishment. There are many ills, I would like to request or demand corrections or cures, but I must patiently trust the Brotherhood and the intelligent members of the Mediation Board.

I am but one person with responsibilities, and if I get "too smart" I'll truly "get my wings clipped." That's why we need an organization, we must have leadership that is independent of the Company and out of range of their "guns."

No porter, no member of any grievance committee, can become too bothersome to the local management and prosper. He who becomes active is considered "too smart," consequently dangerous, and local officials will eliminate him or cause him to eliminate himself soon as possible.

Grievance committees are handicapped. What three men are at home terminal at same time with energy and frame of mind to discuss matters that are only indirectly of interest to them? And, without remuneration, what man wishes to contribute his time, leave his home and family, or even his recreation, to squabble about something Tom or Bill did or didn't do, and they don't know or never saw Tom or Bill? For my part, to h— with such a "position."

I repeat—any porter who will demand fair play, or as much as application or "rules" to the inconvenience of the local management will be considered "too smart" and thereafter find the atmosphere about the office very uncomfortable.

So I am waiting and hoping, watchful waiting, we might say, that the honest and intelligent members of the Mediation Board hear our plea and see our plight and favor us with justice.

That is all we seek, all we desire, all we dream of. We do not ask for something that does not rightfully belong to us. Something for nothing cannot be appreciated. We are willing to toil and fully earn all that we gain. Some, I admit, are not so conscientious and worthy, we desire the elimination of that element.

At present it is difficult to be always conscientious and efficient. Too much is expected, and there is too much compulsion. So often the porters are misjudged.

Some porters, at one time, unable or afraid to do otherwise, "accepted" a 11,000 mile basis month. It is unpractical and impossible to "measure" the work done or service performed by a porter by miles. Regardless of the rate of speed or the distance any train travels there are sixty minutes in every hour. And we have nothing to do with the rate of speed or the distance we travel. On the longest run, or on the faster trains, porters will make more miles than the porters on slower or local trains in one hour or one night, but he performs service only sixty minutes during each hour and, chances are good. the porter on the slower trains will "make" more stations and receive or discharge more passengers and answer more rings in three hours than the porter on the "flyer" will all night.

But, wisely or unfairly, the 11,000 mile month is "granted" by the Company so they can obtain the maximum labor for the minimum pay. If we would reckon the speed and miles that are made by all the trains that consist partly of Pullman cars, I am quite certain the average speed would not be more than thirty-five miles per hour. And 11,000 miles divided by 35 miles equals a 314 hour month the Company graciously "grants."

And if we take the figures the Company uses when computing pay for "late arrivals" or "doubles" which is thirty miles per hour, we will discover that they "grant" a 366 hour month, for which they expect the porters to be honest, loyal, obedient, submissive, faithful and appreciative.

That is a sad mistake they make—to be so unjust to the porters and expect they shall be just and contented. If they assume they can alter the Golden Rule to read "do unto others as you would not have them do unto you" the porters are liable to assume the same attitude toward the Company and its patrons. And if they'll play the game straight maybe the porters will reciprocate, down and out with those who would cheat.

Maybe they judge us as an ignorant and brainless lot, but a crazy person knows when he has been grossly mistreated. Fifty years ago we didn't have much education, but since then we've read many books, and wrote a few. Maybe they judge us as dogs. We all know a dog may bite if you kick him, but if treated kindly he will be appreciative and lay down his life, so to speak, for the one who treated him kindly.

Pay me my worth, grant me good treatment, consider me as a human being, able to think, love, hate, laugh and cry, and I'll toil faithfully in efforts to earn my remuneration and keep your respect. And I'll gladly to the best of my ability, guard your property and attend to your business.

We want to live and enjoy living, we want to work and enjoy our work, but under present conditions we cannot get a great deal of pleasure from either. We are too far from "appreciable" remunera-

tion, we are too far from eight hours sleep, eight hours work and eight hours recreation per day or the equivalent thereof. We are too far from regular meals and regular rest.

Very often we must end (?) the day at eleven P. M. and begin the next day at two A. M. and work until ten or ten-thirty till after the passengers have been served, before we get our breakfast No animal, no engine, and no human, can go for seven, eight or more hours without fuel and remain running in good order.

The Company pays us a half-wage, sort of a "retainer" and expects the public to contribute the remainder of the amount necessary to decent livelihood. Bad enough when we are in charge of a car occupied by generous (?) passengers, but they do deadhead porters from here to there and from there to elsewhere and from elsewhere to somewhere else on that "retainer" fee plus one dollar per day for two meals—they eat breakfast, lunch and dinner. And a porter may be held somewhere away from home for several days and receive naught but the half-wage, no expense money added thereto.

When in service anything from eight or ten or twelve hours to twenty-four hours equals one day, because we don't count the hours, we count the miles. On those runs where car lays at some wayside station or junction point from one to four or five hours ever ytrip, we don't count the hours and we can't count the miles because they hours every trip, we don't count the hours maybe twenty and maybe ninety every month, a porter is in service without pay.

Our employment brings us in contact with the elite—the Governor and the Senator, et cetera, the Company contends. Inferring, I presume, that we can pick up so much free knowledge. We also, they don't mention it, come in contact with diseased persons, cranks, uncultured persons, whores, pimps and gamblers.

So many porters have gone from Pullman cars to professions, the Company states. A man with a lazy mind and body or a man with responsibilities that grant him no opportunity to advance, might stay "on the cars," but any person with ambition and forethought is on his way from his first or second trip. I've heard of men resigning and going to the "packing plant" and considering themselves better placed.

The Pullman service is, I admit, something to inspire a porter, or any man who becomes a porter. If he never did any serious thinking before, he is very likely going to do some after he gets deadheaded here and there and "football teamed" a bit. When running extra, the best we can do when leaving home is tell the family "goodbye, I don't know where I'm going and can't imagine when I'll be back."

In conclusion, we truly need revision or modification of working conditions and sufficient remuneration for our services.

Yours truly,

A Porter.

The Critic

(*Continued from page 47*)

with respect for what is called 'the human soul' can view without distaste and a secret sense that something is amiss a race of men admitting in their every act and thought their own inferiority."

Without wishing in the least to condone the shortcomings of the civilized Negro, is it not necessary to remember that while the Suriname Bush Negro had to adapt himself to the environment in a certain measure in order to survive, that the American Negro had to do the same? And, thinking of it, has the Bush Negro really had as hard a time as the American Negro, struggling in the jungles of white barbarity? The Japanese have adopted many Occidental ways; are they any inferior for it? The white man is but one part of life, the black man is another part of the great whole, and the sensible man is the one who uses judgment in selecting the best, no matter whether it is peculiar to white or black people. What also of the imitations of black by white, which are numerous?

"Tom-Tom" is undoubtedly over-done; nevertheless, no one should miss it. It is published by Harper Brothers.

Shafts and Darts

(*Continued from page 54*)

providing "wholesome" atmosphere for "good" boys and young men who might "stray" into "paths of iniquity" if removed from the influence and supervision of the slick-haired and soprano-voiced secretaries who flit around with mincing steps lisping words of good cheer. The "C," we hasten to remark, stands for "Christian."

Sports

(*Continued from page 52*)

guilt assured? In the profession of baseball the morals are no whit cleaner than in many others.

To win a pennant and the thousands of dollars to players and stockholders it is extremely likely that money has bought many a player in a crucial game. But fooling the public is easy to shrewd politicians, statesmen, breeders of war, and vendors of any article of public desire, hence the great unbelief of error by Cobb, Speaker, et al. The gullible public hates to admits it's a sucker. When Nurmi, Hoff, and a lot of our own amateurs live luxuriously, do no ostensible work, travel through whole seasons, retire well-off, there are those poor saps who believe they do this on the expense pittance allowed them by amateur athletic rules. About this "nigger-hating" cracker, Cobb, who always had an uncontrollable temper where some defenseless Negro was concerned, the iconoclast who knocked down this idol deserves an iron cross. Now we have no quarrel with professional athletics—if they can be kept straight. A gambler does not care to bet in sports where the dice are loaded against him or the pack fixed. We believe in keeping schoolboy athletics free from the taint of professionalism as we do think money prizes in many cases contaminate academic strivings or art production in the schools. We simply cannot stand the hypocritic intolerant pseudo-moralists and optimists who willingly wear blinders and refuse to believe what is made evident.

Indoor Games

When George Lattimore, formerly of Brooklyn, now of London, managed the Smart Set Athletic Club and the writer managed the I. S. A. A. and staged the big indoor meets of the winters of 1910-1913 in Brooklyn and in Washington, track athletics among our own boys expanded greatly. Thousands of boys on cards topped by Howard Drew, Roy Morse, Harry Martin and Binga Dismond cavorted to record performances on the indoor tracks of the 14th Regiment Armory and the Convention Hall of Brooklyn and Washington. The war came and spoiled the sequence of indoor meets. Had the C. I. A. A. marched smoothly on in the line of its progress it is possible big indoor meets would now be the order of the day. Some enterprising club not minding a possible deficit to the tune of a few hundreds might yet stage indoor games and collect the leading stars from the galaxy of bright lights now gleaming in the firmament of the track world. Who will lead?

Theatre

(*Continued from page 53*)

present production go to L. Rufus Hill, a white man. A word will suffice to describe his performance. It was excellent. Next in line, in the order named, come F. H. Wilson, Thomas Mosley, Rose McClendon, Armithine Lattimer and R. J. Huey. All did well. Mr. Julius Bledsoe, the big song and spiritual man, was casted as the hero, or, since the critics insist that the play is a tragedy, the protagonist. Having had a role in two plays, Mr. Bledsoe is now an actor of note. That is to say he interprets all the undulations of feeling in the same note. Even if he sings that way I am convinced that he can sing better than he can act.

* * *

The Spence Family Passes in Review

An infant theater, like an infant industry, needs protection. With this fact in mind, I am inclined to look back on the opening performance of the second season of the Krigwa little theater with a tolerant eye. Quite a number of gaucheries got into this performance; they did amusing tricks with the lights and curtains and various actors forgot their lines and had to be prompted from behind the scenes. But one makes allowances for this amateurishness as one makes allowances for the awkwardness of a child learning to walk.

Reading the program I see Ardelle Dabney, Charles Burroughs and William Holly each cast in two plays. This is a happy augury. Learning two or more parts simultaneously and rapidly switching from one role to another will develop versatility and the result will be the players will become actors and not mere types. This is just the kind of actor material the Negro theater requires for the chances are ten to one it will have to rest on a repertory basis.

Some of the acting can be applauded without reservation. The performance of William Jackson would be good acting on any man's stage, and Ardelle Dabney, while she wasn't so good in "Mandy," came back with rattling good work in "Her." Mar-

garet Forster, Olga Spence and Menta Turner reached an even higher level. Mrs. Forster surpassed the other two in precision and assurance but it would be hard to say which of the three possesses more of the latent stage poetry which needs only a modicum of experience to express itself in really fine acting. I hope it won't be long now before they will be playing before 10,000 people a week.

Aside from individual honors, the trophy for the highest number of points scored goes to the Clan Spence. They contributed two plays and two actresses to the evening's entertainment, a decided plurality of the program. Master Galton used to say genius runs in families.

New Books

(*Continued from page* 44)

is a changing phenomenon in which opposing classes, developed according to their material interests, are in conflict with one another. Under the capitalist system the opposing classes are the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This conflict is known as the class struggle—one of the main theories of Karl Marx.

Anyone who is interested in the Marxian theory of society could do no better than read Bukharin's book. The author is one of the most learned supporters of the materialist concept of society. Despite his bias toward the Communist party, he has produced a work that merits the serious consideration of every student of social phenomena. Historical Materialism is far superior to the majority of books on sociology in American colleges.

The Tobacco Factory Girl

I wonder
If the man
To whom she gives her love:
Sees her as the mother of his children,
Or the woman for his body's pleasure?

The sad black girl upon his arm
Goes to the factory each morning at seven.
She works beside him the hours through.
They trudge down Pettigrew Street each dusk.
She is his daily companion, his choice.
She is snubbed by the shoppers of Fayetteville Street;
Who forget that she makes them.
I wonder if her husband too forgets?

I wonder
If the man
To whom she gives her love:
Sees her as the mother of his children,
Or the woman for his body's pleasure?

LEWIS ALEXANDER.

USE THIS BLANK FOR COMBINATION OFFER

The Messenger Publishing Co.,
2311 Seventh Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

....., 1927

Gentlemen:

Enclosed find $3.25 for which send me The Messenger for one year and a copy of JESUS: A MYTH, by George Brandes.

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An Appeal to Rep. Madden

HON. MARTIN B. MADDEN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MADDEN:

The estimates of the Director of the Budget, now before your honorable body, contain such pronounced discriminations against our colored schools that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is forced to ask relief from Congress.

In the allotments for new buildings and grounds the colored people are given but $525,000 out of a total of $3,750,000. In addition we are to get two small parcels of play space for graded schools, for which no sums are named. In the aggregate the colored schools, already far behind the white in physical equipment due to accumulated shortages in appropriations, will receive but 15 per cent of the appropriation for next year when we have nearly one-third of the total school system and attendance. The long-neglected Negro portion of the system stands to lose some four hundred thousand dollars for next year if these estimates are allowed to stand.

There are numberless needs in the colored schools, many of them to which the school authorities stand committed, namely, the unsightly huts around our Armstrong Technical High School which give it no play space at all, and the purchase of additional land for the Dunbar High School, and the erection of a stadium thereon. All of our white high schools begin with facilities in every detail, such as our colored schools have not acquired through years of appeal and proof of their need. All of them have stadiums, tennis courts, running tracks, and placement within reach of their constituencies without the added educational costs of car fare. Colored high schools have none of these tremendous advantages.

There are many needs in our graded schools and in the Miner Normal School (this latter with an enrollment larger than that of the white normal school), which could more than absorb the $400,000 which the estimates deny us.

Modern educational thought increasingly stresses the need of physical education, yet are denied the equipment for such training.

You have come to our aid on many other occasions, and we are sure of your prompt response to this appeal.

Very truly yours,
District of Columbia Branch, N.A.A.C.P.
NEVAL H. THOMAS, President.
A. S. PINKETT, Secretary.

December 15, 1926.

Group Tactics and Ideals will be resumed next month in the bigger and better Messenger.

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Notice to Out of Town Porters

Here Is Where the Brotherhood Meets in New York City and When:

ST. LUKE'S HALL
125 West 130th Street
New York City

For the Month of February:

Wednesday, February 2nd
Tuesday, February 8th
Wednesday, February 16th
Wednesday, February 23rd
Monday, February 28th

All meetings begin promptly at 8:30 P. M.

Every porter should consider it a duty and a privilege to attend these meetings, in order to hear A. Philip Randolph, and keep informed of developments in the rapid forward conquering march of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Editorials

(*Continued from page* 49)

Honorable Dismissals

This excellent editorial was written by Robert L. Vann, and appeared in his excellent newspaper, "The Pittsburgh Courier," issue of January 15th. "The Pittsburgh Courier" has been an ardent supporter of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters from its birth and loses no opportunity to plead the porters' case.

Word has been circulated that the Pullman Company has punished some porters by firing them simply because the company learned that these particular porters were either participating in the Independent Porters' Organization or were sympathizers with it. If these reports are true, and there is good authority for believing them to be true, the Pullman Company officials should hang their heads in shame. That a man should be punished for asserting his rights has long since been dropped as a fair method of dealing with human problems, so long as the individuals asserting their rights employ sane and reasonable methods.

The Negro porters who are fighting for a living wage and working conditions in keeping with other American standards are to be congratulated that they have advanced so far in their organization as to attract the attention of the Pullman Company to the extent of resorting to a summary dismissal of porters as a method of discouraging their organization. This indicates desperation on the part of the Pullman Company, and argues to the public that the company is now employing what may be termed "its last stand" against the ceaseless tide of public sentiment backing the porters in their effort to seek decent wages and decent working conditions. The porters ought to feel that every time one is fired for participating in a safe and sane organization, dedicated to the betterment of his own conditions, that his organization is just one man nearer the goal. The boys can afford a hundred men if they win their fight for improved working conditions and decent wages, because when a decent wage is established for the Pullman Porters it will affect 10,000 families, and it will affect every community in which a Pullman Porter may reside; and a hundred men can well afford to sacrifice their jobs for the benefit of 10,000 comrades and their families who are seeking to make the Pullman Company participate in the democracy this country likes to preach about. If 100 men must be fired let them be fired, and the sooner the better. Surely 10,000 families, living under improved conditions, is a reward well worth sacrificing a hundred underpaid porters to achieve. The company may fire few, but public sentiment will laugh the company to scorn when once the American people understand that the Pullman Porters are seeking from the company what they have heretofore been receiving from the public, namely—sufficient to live upon, without asking alms in addition to service rendered.

FREE BOOKS!
See our big subscription offers on page 34 (inside front cover).

ANNOUNCEMENT EXTRAORDINARY!—*Beginning with the March, 1927, Number*

EUGENE GORDON

THE BRILLIANT NEGRO JOURNALIST ON THE STAFF OF THE BOSTON POST

Will select from the Negro newspapers of the United States exclusively for The Messenger

THE MONTH'S BEST EDITORIAL

and briefly explain why he made the selection. The Messenger is anxious to acquaint the public with some of the excellent editorials appearing in the Negro Press and to also stimulate the writing of better editorials. Mr. Gordon, who will be the judge, is well known for his annual appraisals of the Negro press. Other new features: When the Germans Visited Liberia; Negro Land Grant Colleges; About Our Women; The Younger Generation. Photos and cartoons by Negro artists.

"THE LEAP OF MARCUS CURTIUS"

By A. SAGGITARIUS

A PICTURE that interested, more, fascinated me as a boy, bore the title under which this article is written—"The Leap of Marcus Curtius."

The artist depicted a Roman youth, clad in full armor and mounted on a gray charger, at the moment before his leap sent him crashing into the yawning abyss that awaited his earthly remains.

The act was heroic and I hastened to learn the cause of so unusual a deed. History states that in 362 B. C., a chasm suddenly opened in The Forum of Rome. Following the custom of the time, the oracles were consulted as regards the best method of closing it. The reply evoked was that it would continue to gape until it had received the most precious possession of Rome. Marcus Curtius, a young and patriotic Roman, armed himself fully and mounting his charger, exclaimed, "Rome has no richer possession than valor and arms." He leaped into the chasm which was subsequently filled by offerings to his memory. He had sacrificed his life for the greatest interest of his country.

An adoring public, ever ready to follow the hero of the moment, had offered tribute to his courage. The prophecy of the oracles was fulfilled.

Viewed from the knowledge of today, one may be inclined to question the wisdom of the act. The feeling—that of self-sacrifice, however,—which prompted the deed, can bear comparison with the best and needs no apologist. It is the spirit of the pioneer, of a Moses, of a Christ, of a John Brown directed against great odds to remedy existing ills. The favorable impression made on me by the daring act of the youthful Roman has never abated. Whenever I hear of a deed of self-sacrifice, the picture, with its title, flashes athwart my mental screen.

The words spoken by Marcus Curtius, just before his leap, were quite correct. In his time great physical courage was the goal to which men aspired and the coward and weakling had little part in the national life. Great spectacular acts, having laudable motives for their aims, elicited the plaudits of the crowd, the talents of the bards and poets and praises of the historian. Yet, the courage, sacrifice, faith and energy called into play in the accomplishment of gigantic tasks and reforms extending over periods of years sometimes received scant attention. As greater sacrifices are made in the mental and spiritual worlds less is necessary in the physical.

Let us imagine that this chasm had opened in 1927 A. D. instead of 362 B. C., and in Madison Square Garden in place of the Forum Romanum. Far from consulting the super-physical oracles, the knowledge gained through years of hard studies and fierce battles with the forces of nature would be invoked. Armed with the wealth of scientific information of today those in authority would soon find the cause for the opening. The rest would be easy and the Leap of Martius Curtius unnecessary. Throughout the ages, these leaps have been made by individuals, groups, tribes and nations. In religion, in arts, in science, forces are, from time to time, released that propel advancing humanity into the realms of the unknown if its place in the universal march is to be maintained. There are, generally, volunteers, like Curtius, who give their lives in making it easier for the masses,—in preparing the way.

There is no scarcity of worlds to conquer and as one level is reached the vision of the crusader is blessed by an ever widening vista. The lot of the conquering hero is not always his. The cell of the lunatic, the torture of the heretic or the scorn and persecution of the masses may mark his path. Even though intense suffering is caused by the very ones most in need of help, the brave spirit feels neither anger nor the desire for reprisals. On the contrary, a great pity for the ignorance, lack of vision and inertia of their centres of consciousness is brought out. The desire to aid their faltering footsteps to a higher level where the vision will be less blurred becomes more persistent. Thereby progress moves apace.

In our present time it will be noticed that humanity is becoming more self-reliant. It is not that his faith in the super-physical powers is less; but his work in the physical, mental and spiritual planes is more. In other words he has taken the advice given by Hercules to the carter. He is putting his shoulders to the wheel before praying and the result is marvelous. The realms now entered by adventurous seekers after truth are multiplying daily. Fallacies long tolerated as truths are exposed to the pitiless torch of reason and are fast disappearing as mist before the warmth of sunlight.

The New Negro has placed himself abreast this marching line of progress. He is holding his own in science, art, literature and latterly in economics.

Bit by bit the inferiority complex that had chained him within the confines of a stultifying circle is being broken down. No longer is he following dog-like his master's footsteps and without ambition accepting the end of the feast. No longer does he listen to the voice of those so-called leaders who warn him against self-assertion and self-determination. No longer does the fear of consequences to himself deter him from the action that will benefit his group or his race. He has taken "The Leap of Marcus Curtius" and his once enchained mentality and spirituality is being rewarded by the gain of added consciousness.

Pleasing as the result of Negro progress is, there is plenty of work to be done in solidifying all groups. Raised racial consciousness brought into play by honest and fearless leaders, through a campaign of education, will have a salutary effect.

Literature that causes men to think for themselves and which exposes those who would hold the masses quiescent to enhance their own gains and importance will be also of great value.

Evolving life and consciousness are slow processes. Results become perceptible only when, in concert and intensity of desire, the spirit of humanity moves in a given direction. Thus real progress is from within stimulated into action by outside agencies working on the centers of consciousness. Man, a product of nature, receives help or hindrance from that source. The law of attraction or repulsion is evoked as he allies himself with the cause of truth or against it. Consequently the reason for the winning of small minorities seeking justice, over large majorities withholding justice, becomes obvious.

When the intensity of the desires of a group becomes focused on reform and they are willing to take "The Leap of Marcus Curtius," forces of great power are automatically released to become their allies.

The rights of the weak will always be violated. Negroes will always be lynched and mistreated until bitter adversity has prepared a suffiicent number to perceive the yawning chasm and crystallize their decision to take "The Leap of Marcus Curtius."

A very significant movement today in the world of economics is the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids. This movement, the outcome of low wages and miserably low working conditions, which are the children of unorganized labor, is blazing a trail destined to usher in a fairer day for Negroes throughout the world. That it has started in this specific group is merely an incident. The issue is the focusing of scattered energy, now wasted by Negro workers, through the medium of labor unions. The importance of the movement can be seen when notice is taken of the general interest it has aroused. The talent and help it has attracted to its ranks and its recognition before the Mediation Board.

There is nothing spectacular or ephemeral about the awakening. It has been brought about through natural channels, and leaders and followers are pursuing safe, sane, wise and progressive methods. Each step is considered before taken and "Justice to all" is the watch-word. Strangely enough, the greatest opposition is not coming from a side frankly antagonistic to us; but from the very ones who would benefit most from a successful issue. They are stragglers in an enlightened age and a relic of slavery and its psychology-unconsciousness in an age of consciousness. However, we consider and await them as brothers. Education will, in the long run, dispel the fog through which they are floundering, and like their advancing brothers and sisters they too will take "The Leap of Marcus Curtius."